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C H A P. I.

Treats of the situation and extent of this country, the provinces it is divided into, and of their principal rivers, monsoons, winds, tides, and climate.

CHAP.
I.
Countries
included
in it, the
descrip-
tion of
Siam.

UNDER Siam we may comprehend not only proper Siam, but Malacca, Cambodia, and Laos; for these were lately provinces, and are great part of them yet tributary to this kingdom: and though the Dutch have encroached on the dominions of this Prince, particularly in Malacca; and other remote provinces, have rebelled and thrown off their allegiance, and are now set up for petty sovereigns, this cannot be supposed to have extinguished the right of the lawful Prince. There is this farther reason also for treating of them together, namely, that their religion, laws and policy, persons, manners and customs, have very little to distinguish them.

The
name.

But first, of the general name of this kingdom: the Portuguese, and after them the rest of the Europeans, call it Siam; but the natives stile it the country of Tai, or of freemen, according to LOUBIERE; though he observes they have long since lost their liberties, as well as his countrymen the French, who were once called Franks; for the same reason the Siamese were called Tai, namely for opposing all encroachments on their liberties.

Extent.

This country extends from the first degree of north latitude, to the 25th, if we reckon from the southernmost point of Malacca, to the northernmost part of Laos; the longitude is not altogether so certain. This city of Siam heretofore being reckoned to be in the 145th degree of longitude, and by late observations in 121; and still greater mistakes have been discovered in the situation of China, which is now found to be 500 leagues nearer us, than former accounts made it.

Bounda-
ries.

Siam, including Malacca, Cambodia, and Laos, is bounded by Tonquin and Cochinchina, towards the east, by the gulph of Siam and the Indian sea towards the south, by the bay of Bengal towards the west, and by the kingdoms of Pegu and Ava, towards the north and west.

The kingdom of Siam is said to resemble a crescent, of which proper Siam and Laos may be reckoned the body, and Malacca and Cambodia the two horns; but then Malacca, or the western horn is much the longest, extending several de-

O L. I.

grees further southward than Cambodia, or the eastern horn.

CHAP.
I.
Proper
Siam.

Proper or upper Siam contains seven provinces, which receive their names from their respective capital cities, viz. Profelouc, Sanguelouc, Lacontai, Campengpet, Coconrepina, Pechebonne, and Pitchia. Profelouc includes ten little districts or counties, Sanguelouc eight, Lacontai seven, Campengpet ten, Coconrepina five, Pechebonne two, and Pitchia seven; and besides these, there are in the upper or proper Siam one and twenty other districts or counties, which are not subject to the former, but are under the jurisdiction of the capital city and province of Siam.

In the lower Siam are also reckoned seven provinces, viz. Jor, Patana, Ligor, Tenasserim, Chautebonne, Petelong or Bordelonge, and Tchai. The province of Jor contains seven counties or districts, Patana eight, Ligor twenty, Tenasserim twelve, Chautebonne seven, Petelong eight, and Tchai two; but geographers do not take upon them to describe the bounds of the respective provinces. I proceed therefore to describe the situation and extent of Cambodia, and Laos, which are included under the general name of Siam.

Lower
Siam, or
Malacca.

Cambodia extends from the 8th degree of north latitude, to the 15th, or thereabouts; it is bounded by Cochinchina and Chiampa on the east, the Indian ocean on the south, the gulph of Siam on the west, and Laos on the north: the chief town thereof is Cambodia, situate on the river Mecon, in about the 12th degree of north latitude; Laweck, or Ravecca, is something higher up the river Mecon: the port towns of Terrana, Langor, and Caiol, lie on the south-west coast of Cambodia, but their latitudes are not ascertained.

Cambo-
dia.

Laos extends from the 15th degree of north latitude, to about the 25th, according to the opinion of most of our geographers; but they do not seem positive, it being an inland country very little resorted to by Europeans: it is bounded by Tonquin towards the east, by Cambodia towards the south, by proper Siam and Pegu, towards the west, but what it is bounded by towards the north, is not agreed on; and indeed those

Laos;

T

countries

C H A P. I. countries which lie north of Laos, from the 25th to the 40th degree of north latitude seem to be filled up in our maps, as the rest of the Terra Incognita usually is, with fancied countries that have no existence. And as China is now found to be 500 leagues nearer us than 'twas formerly at, either several countries that have con-

fits within narrower bounds than geographers have hitherto done.

But to return to Laos, it is by all agreed to be a very slender province, some say not more than 50 miles in breadth from east to west, though it is reckoned to be ten degrees in length from north to south: the capital city thereof is Lanchang or Lanchang, situate in the 20th degree of north latitude: there are several other towns mentioned in the map of this country, but we have no account of their situation or inhabitants.

Rivers. I proceed therefore to speak of the principal rivers of Siam, which are first the Menan, and secondly the Mecon, both of them have their rise in Tartary, as is supposed, and run from north to south; the Menan discharges itself into the gulph of Siam, in the latitude of 14 north, and the Mecon having passed through Laos, and Cambodia, falls into the Indian sea, in the 9th degree north latitude. There is also another river of note called Tenaferim, which falls into the bay of Bengal, in the latitude of 13 north; and forms an island called Merguy, where is one of the best harbours in India.

The principal towns stand either near the sea coasts, or upon some of these rivers; the mountainous part of the country being almost over-run with woods, and that which is not, is parched up with the sun, and much less fit for tillage than the low lands; especially for rice, which is the common food of the inhabitants.

Mon-foons, winds, and tides. From speaking of the rivers, I come naturally to treat of the monfoons, winds and tides, which have a great influence on them.

The winds in March, April and May blow from the south, upon the coast of Siam; in April the rains begin, and in June it rains almost continually; in July, August, and September, the winds blow from the west, and the rains continuing, the rivers overflow their banks to the breadth of nine or ten miles; and for above one hundred and fifty miles up the stream; during this time, and especially in July, the tides are so strong that they come up as far as Siam, which stands sixty miles up the river Menan, and sometimes as high as Louvo, which is fifty miles higher: in October the winds blow from the west and north, when the rains cease; in November and December the winds blow dry from the north, and in a few days the waters are reduced to their ancient channels, and the tides are so insensible, that the waters are sweet at the mouth of the river: at Siam there is never more than one flood and one ebb in twenty-four hours; in January the winds blow from the east, and in February from the east and south; when the winds are at west, the currents also fit to the eastward, and on the contrary when the wind is at east, the currents run westerly, according to LOUBIERE.

Besides the river abovementioned, there are several others, and abundance of canals cut cross, whereby they have a communication with one another, and were these people under a mild government, their country lies as well for navi-

gation and commerce as any in the Indies; they have also a multitude of fine ports, whereas proper India, or the Mogul's country opposite to it, has hardly any.

This kingdom, extending almost from the equinoctial to the tropick, must certainly be very hot; but here, as in all other places between the equator and the tropick, the heat is moderated by the cloudy weather, and there falls such a deluge of rain, that the flat country where they chiefly inhabit is overflowed, and this renders the heats very supportable: hard winters are not to be expected so near the sun, some reckon the rainy season to be their winter, when the sun is nearest them, but their coolest winds blow in December and January there as well as here.

C H A P. II.

Treats of their towns, fortifications, palaces, prince's court, guards and seraglio; and of the buildings, houses and furniture of the private people.

C H A P. II. Cities. THE city of Siam, the metropolis of the kingdom, sometimes called Odioa, and by the natives Siyothiya, is situate on the river Menan in about 14 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and is three leagues in circumference, fortified with a wall and towers, and surrounded by several branches of the river Menan, which render it almost an island, except towards the east, where there is a causey to pass out of the town by land without crossing the water: that which is properly the town does not take up above a sixth part of the ground within the walls. On the rest of it are built between two and three hundred Temples or Pagodas, surrounded by as many convents of Talapoints: about their temples also are their burying places, with pyramids erected over them, which with their spires and the towers of the Pagodas make a very agreeable prospect.

The streets of the town are large and strait, and some of them paved with brick, and canals cut through them, over which are several high ill built bridges, which has occasioned the comparing this city to Venice. The houses are most of them built of bambou, or over-grown cane, and stand upon pillars of the same thirteen foot above the ground, the lower part underneath the house being put to no manner of use: the houses are not contiguous, nor do all the family, if it be large, lodge under one roof, but every man's ground is paved in with bambou; and within this enclosure are several little tenements erected on pillars, according to the quality of the person and the number of his dependants and slaves: their cattle also are kept in upper rooms, 'tis said, to prevent their being carried away in the time of the inundation: There are some few houses in the town built by foreigners with brick; and the King has erected others of the same sort for the use of foreign Ambassadors.

The King's palace stands on the north side of the city, it is built with brick and surrounded by a triple inclosure, with large courts between each wall: the inward court, or the King's apartment, is called Vang, in which is included several gardens, groves, canals, &c. The whole palace with all its inclosures is called Praffat: the Siamese prostrate themselves whenever they go in and out of the

CHAP. II. the Vang, and never pass by the gates of the outward palace but at a great distance.

Neither the King's palaces or private houses are built more than one story high, yet there is often a great difference in the height of the front and of the inward rooms, both in the floors and the roofs; the first or outward room is ever the lowest, and from this you ascend to another by two or three steps, and then to a third, and so on in a direct line; the roofs rising proportionably, which being of shining tiles in the King's palace, looks very magnificent. In the palaces of the great officers of state, there is usually three floors and roofs rising one higher than another; and in the King's palace at Siam there are seven at least; the entrance to the first room is by a very strait pair of stairs, and a door proportionably narrow to the right or left of the building, there being no door in the middle of the front.

The French Ambassador acquaints us, that when he had an audience at the palace of Siam or Louvo, it was always in the first room, and that when he was entertained at the palace it was in an open room encompassed with a wall no higher than a man might lean over, and the roof was supported by pillars fixed on the wall; that it was shaded by trees and had plenty of water about it. And that here, as well as at the palace of Louvo, were a great many of these rooms dispersed about the gardens of the palace, where the Mandarins, and great officers, usually attended.

And as the King delights much in hunting, he has several other palaces in the woods, built slightly of bamboo, and painted red, where he lies in the hunting season. But to return to the palace of Siam: The furniture of the private apartments, travellers do not pretend to give any account of; but the room of audience is wainscotted and coloured with a red varnish, there are also some pannels of looking-glass, and the floor is covered with carpets; the basons, dishes, drinking vessels, and other utensils, are all of plate.

The gates of the palace are kept shut, and if any one desires admittance, the officer who commands the guard is acquainted with it; and he suffers no person to enter armed, or who has drank arrack or spirits; and therefore he smells the breath of every man who comes in.

Guards.

Between the two first walls stand a guard of unarmed soldiers, who serve the King also in the office of executioners; there are arms ready for them in the palace, but they are never trusted with them but on special occasions, and are about six hundred in number.

Antiently the King of Siam had a guard of six hundred Japonese; but these being observed to be able to awe the whole kingdom, have been dismissed.

The horse-guards are composed of natives of Laos, and of another country called Meen, who are divided into two bodies commanded by their respective generals: the King has also another guard of horse composed of one hundred and thirty gentlemen; two troops whereof consisting of thirty each, are Moors or Mahometans, natives of the Mogul's dominions; another troop consists of twenty Chinese Tartars, armed with bows and arrows; and two other troops of Rabbuts, natives of proper India, and Pagans by religion; consisting of twenty-five each, these also are habited like the Moors, and famous for their courage; but LOUIERE ascribes it all to the effect of opium. All the horse-guards attend the King

when he goes abroad, but none of them are ever suffered to enter the gates of the palace: the King finds every troop his horse and arms, and each Moor has about 34 livres a year, and a red stuff vest; their Captains 840 livres each, and the Rabbuts pay is the same: the Chinese Tartars have 45 livres per annum each, and their Captain 112 livres 10 sols.

Within the first wall of the palace are the stables of the elephants, and the King's best horses, who have every one of them a particular name given them by his Majesty.

Elephants stable, and horses.

Every elephant has several men to serve him, and is treated with more or less honour, according to the name he bears; they never stir out without their several trappings and ornaments: these creatures are so very teachable and quick of apprehension, if I may use the expression, that the people imagine every one of them to be animated by an illustrious soul that has formerly possessed some great man: and the white elephant, which they pretend is only found at Siam, they believe has the soul of some Prince lodged in him; for which reason the King never rides upon him. This elephant is not quite white, but a sort of a flesh colour, and some call him therefore the white and red elephant; nor have they much less respect for a white horse than a white elephant, as appears by the King of Siam's concern for one of them that was sick. He desired Mr VINCENT, an European physician, to assist the creature with his advice, it seems; and being conscious that the physician would think it a little beneath him to prescribe to a horse, he told him that this was no ordinary horse, for he was descended from a fire and dam who were both white, as their ancestors had been for four generations, without any mixture. Next to the white elephants they esteem those that are black, because they are the scarcest except white, and they often colour them when they are not naturally so black as they would have them. The white elephant (for there is seldom more than one) is served in gold plate, and treated as sovereign of the rest.

White elephant, white horse.

The King's barges and galleys are kept in an arsenal on the other side of the river opposite to the palace.

Barges, &c.

The King usually shews himself from a window which looks into the hall of audience, at the entrance of the inward palace, and is so much above the hall, that the French Ambassador was forced to have three steps to raise him high enough to deliver the King's letter: it was presented to him in a golden cup, as every thing else is which he receives from the hands of his officers.

Hall of audience.

In this hall, or antichamber, wait 44 young gentlemen or pages, divided into 4 companies under their respective officers, who prostrate themselves one half on the left hand and the other on the right at the time of audience; by these it is that the King dispatches his orders to his officers. These pages also have their several employments within doors; some serve his Majesty with betel, some take care of his arms, and others read to him, and take care of his books; for that Prince of whom the French Ambassador speaks, we are told, was very studious: he had ordered Quintus Curtius to be translated into Siamese, and several other histories, and understood the constitution of several European governments: he was conscious, 'tis said, that no Prince had the art of government by inspiration, but that it is obtained by reading and experience.

Pages.

King studies.

Understands the constitution of the European king-doms.

One dem.

CHAP.

II.

Palace of
sacres.

One officer this Prince has who does not prostrate himself in his presence, and he has always his eyes fixed on the prince to receive his orders, which he understands by certain signs, and communicates by signs to the officers who wait without.

The officers of the King's bed-chamber women, none of whom are admitted there; they attend the bed and dress him, except his cap, which he puts on himself, for none may touch his sacred head, or put any thing over it. His women also dress his meat, and wait on him at table; the provision is carried in to the eunuchs, and they deliver it to the women, and we are told the very salt and spices they use are all put in by weight.

Queen.

Only one of the King's women has the honour of being called Queen, and she is generally of the royal family: The French Ambassador tells us; when he was there in the year 1668, the Queen was the King's daughter, which he had by his own sister; and that the rest of the women respected her as their sovereign, that she had the command of the eunuchs, who are not above ten or twelve in number, black and white, as well as of the women, and punished both as she saw fit.

Seraglio.

They take the daughter of any subject for the service of the Vang or Seraglio, and sometimes take them only to extort a sum of money from their parents to redeem them; for the King's mistresses do not amount to above a dozen at most, and these he keeps in conformity to custom, and more for state than any thing else.

The Queen has her elephants and her barges to attend her when she goes abroad, but her chair, or rather apartment, is enclosed with curtains, through which she may see every thing but cannot be seen; and all people get out of the way, or prostrate themselves as she passes by.

Queen
trades as
well as o-
ther wo-
men.

This Queen has her magazines, her ships and treasure distinct from the King's, and carries on a trade upon her own bottom: and the French Ambassador tells us, that the King and Queen had some misunderstanding when he was in the country, because he had reserved almost all the foreign trade to himself, whereby her Majesty found herself deprived of the usual profits which the custom of the kingdom allowed the Queen.

Succession
of the
crown.

It is not the Queen's son that usually inherits, but usually the King's eldest son by the first woman that brings him a child; and if his Majesty does not look upon him to be qualified to succeed him, he has the power of appointing another: and in all the eastern kingdoms, 'tis observed, that tho' they generally affect to be governed by one of the royal family, they are indifferent whether it be the eldest or not, or whether it be the issue of a wife of the first or second class, or a concubine, as the latter are usually called.

Ward-
robe.

Although the women only are concerned in dressing his Majesty; there are gentlemen who are officers of his wardrobe, the most considerable of whom is the person who has the care of the King's cap. This was lately a Prince of the blood of Cambodia, from which family his late Majesty derived his descent, not being able to pretend any relation to the ancient Kings of Siam; the throne having been usurped by his father.

Foreign
nations
which in-
habit Si-
am.

That liberty of commerce which was formerly indulged at Siam, invited great numbers of foreigners to settle amongst them; every nation possesses a different quarter of the town, and has its Chief or Consul of their own choosing, whom

the Siamese stile Nai, and a Mandarin assigned by the King to transact affairs with him; but nothing of consequence is determined without the Barcon or Prime Minister.

CHAP.

II

The Moors or Mahometans of the Mogul's Moors dominions had formerly the best establishment here, was of the Moors, happening to Moors the principal officers and governments were in their hands, and the King caused several mosques, or Mahometan temples, to be erected at his own expence, and still is at the charges of their great festival kept in memory of Haly: the Siamese who embraced Mahometism were also exempted from the six months personal service; but this Moorish Barcon falling into disgrace, the credit of his nation sunk with him, and all Mahometans were turned out of employment, and compelled to pay for their exemption from the six months service, but are still allowed their mosques, and the exercise of their religion. There are now reckoned to be about four thousand Moors at Siam, as many Indian Portuguese, or the mixed breed, which are very numerous on all the Indian coasts, nor are there fewer Chinese, and about as many Malays; and some there are of other nations, but the richest merchants are retired from Siam, since the King has engrossed the foreign commerce.

Portu-
guese.

Malays.

Having given an account of the city and palace of Siam, and of its inhabitants, I shall proceed to describe the situation of the rest of the considerable towns of this kingdom; and for these, 1. Menangfang lies the most northerly of any town in proper Siam, being situated in the 22d degree of north latitude, upon the river Menan. 2. La-contai stands upon the same river, in about the 21st degree of north latitude. 3. Perfelouc is situated upon the same river, lat. 20. 4. Compengpet about the 18th degree. 5. Prabat about the 16th, and 6. Louvo about the Latitude of 15, 30 m. where the King usually resides in the hunting season: these all, except Louvo, lie upon the same river, above the city of Siam. 7. Ban-cook, which lies about fifty miles below Siam, on the same river, and may be accounted the port town to Siam: here all shipping receive their permission to trade, and their discharges when they leave the country. 8. Martaban, situated on the bay of Bengal, in about the 16th degree of north latitude. 9. Tenasserim, which lies on the same bay, at the mouth of the river Tenasserim, in about the latitude of 13 north. 10th. Ligor, situate on the west side of the gulph of Siam, in the 8th degree of north latitude. 11. Cantebon or Liam is situated at the mouth of a river of the same name, in the 12th degree of north latitude, on the east side of the gulph of Siam. 12. Patane, which lies on the east side of the peninsula of Malacca, in 6 degrees 30 min. north latitude. 13. Queda lies upon the western side of Malacca, in about the 7th degree of north latitude. 14. The Town of Malacca, which gives name to the peninsula, lies in the latitude of 2 degrees, 30 min. north. It was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch, October, 1640. When it was in the possession of the crown of Portugal, it was a place of great trade, and frequented more than any other town in India, except Goa, here being the rendezvous of their shipping from China, Japan, the Spice Islands, &c. They built the castle, and fortified the town with a wall, and it had five parochial churches, a college of Jesuits, and was a Bishop's see, but the Dutch have left all the

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CHAP.
II.

the churches run to ruin, except one; and the trade is removed to Batavia: it is now only inhabited by two or three hundred families of Dutch, Moors, Portuguese, and Chinese, with some Malays, who live in the suburbs, and has a garrison of two or three hundred soldiers. This place is naturally very strong, and by its situation commands the freights of Malacca: the Dutch, who are masters of it, overawe all the little Princes on those coasts, and compel them to deal with them on their own terms; they look upon themselves to be lords of that part of the world, and almost exclude all other Europeans from any share of the trade, as will be observed in treating of the trade of this country. 15. Sincapora is situate in the first degree of north latitude, at the most southerly cape of the continent of Asia, and gives its name to the eastern part of the freights of Malacca. 16. Johr, which lies to the eastward of Sincapora in about 1 degree, 30 m. This town, and the province it gives name to, have thrown off their allegiance to the King of Siam; but the Dutch are in a condition to give laws to them when they please, and it is only because they don't think it worth their while that they have not a garrison here. There are two other great towns mentioned by travellers, which lie to the north of Siam, viz. Cambori and Corozena, but their latitudes are not exactly ascertained.

Thus I have given an account of the situation of most of the great towns on the coasts of Siam, or which are capitals of the respective provinces, but as to the extent or boundaries of the several provinces, there is not any account yet taken which can entirely be relied on.

Fortifications. Their fortifications are but very mean, a slight wall and a ditch, and sometimes only a palisade of bambou is thought a sufficient defence for some of their best towns, and suitable to their walls are their buildings.

Buildings. Their houses, as has been observed in the description of the city of Siam, are built upon pillars of bambou about thirteen feet above the ground; their floors are made of split bambou and covered with mats. Their walls are of much the same slight stuff, and they have no glazed windows, but a shutter to lift up; the roofs are sloped like a barn, and covered with palmeto leaves; they have a ladder instead of stairs to get up to their houses; and in the time of the inundation, every man has a boat tied to his door, the whole nation being very expert in rowing: there are no chimnies in their houses; the only occasion they have for fires is to dress their meat, and for this, a basket of earth serves them instead of a hearth, and they generally do it abroad.

Furniture. As to their furniture, some of them have bedsteads or couches covered with a mat, broad enough only for one person to lie on, for they all lie single, except the poorer sort, who have no bedsteads, but pig together on the floor; they have no curtains round the bed, but one drawn before it, that they may not be seen sleeping; they have no feather-beds, but a matreß stuffed with cotton, and one sheet upon it to lie on, with a quilt or coverlet over them, and a pillow.

As they sit upon the ground they use little lacquered tables without feet, and a border round them, and every man at meals has one to himself; they have also cabinets and chests of drawers, and China ware, with copper and earthen vessels; and this is the principal furniture of their houses, unless we reckon their tools, for there being no par-

ticular trades, every family have their sets of workmen's tools; but there being no such thing as iron nails, all their beams, rafters, boards and wooden work, is fastened together with wooden pins: there are several brick buildings, particularly their temples, palaces, pyramids, &c. Their bricks are said to be tolerably good, and their cement better than ours; a wall that is plaistered with it, looks like polished marble; but none of their buildings will stand long, having no foundations; even the walls of their towns are built without any.

CHAP. III.

Contains an account of the genius, temper, stature, complexion, shape, and habits of the Siamese; with their ceremonies, vices, entertainments, diet, diversions, and softness.

THERE is an observation which Monsieur LOUBIERE makes, in speaking of the genius and temper of these people, which I will not answer for the justness of; and no doubt, he hoped to derive some honour to his own nation when he made it. (France being situate in a temperate climate, between the extremities of heat and cold). He says, in countries very hot or very cold, we may observe in the people a sluggishness both of mind and body; and that in cold countries this degenerates into stupidity: in hot countries, he allows there is spirit and imagination enough, but it soon flags with the least application. To which it may be answered, that China, which lies part of it within the tropicks, and may very well therefore be denominated a hot country, is an exception to this rule; there being no people more active, or who use greater application in whatever they undertake. To proceed,

The Siamese, he acknowledges, have a ready and clear conception, and their repartees are quick and smart; they imitate any thing at sight, and in one day become tolerable workmen; but still, through their invincible laziness, he says, they never rise to great perfection in any art or science, not even in chymistry and astronomy, which they seem to delight in most.

The Siamese are neither lascivious or intemperate; these vices are in abhorrence amongst them, nor will wanton discourse pass for wit, or be taken for sublimity of genius; and the better sort of people are so far from drunkenness, that the drinking attack or brandy is counted infamous among them, and adultery is hardly heard of at Siam, which LOUBIERE imputes to the women being constantly busied in making a provision for their families: wantonness he looks upon to be in a great measure the effect of idleness.

They have, it seems, an aversion to blood, but if their revenge happens to extend so far, they do not care to hazard their own persons by a set duel, but proceed by poison or assassination; most of their quarrels end in ill language; and sometimes, but very seldom, they come to blows.

According to LOUBIERE, they are polite and courteous; but timorous, careless, and indolent; they will smother their resentment a great while, but when they are thoroughly provoked, act with as little discretion as an European: they are wedded to the customs of their ancestors, have but little curiosity or inclinations to alter their fashions, and do not admire the curiosities of foreign countries as we do: they are haughty towards those

CHAP.
II.CHAP.
III.
Genius.Quick
wit.

Virtuous

Averse to
blood.

No duel

Not curious.

who

C H A P. III. who submit to them, and submissive to those who treat them imperiously; when they would profess the sincerest friendship, they do it by drinking of the same cup.

Calm. The ingenious LOUBIERE, in another place observes, that their moderation is greater than ours; that their minds are as calm as their heaven, which changes but twice a year, and that insensibly from rain to fair weather, and from fair to rainy weather again; that, in short, they have the good fortune to be born philosophers, and have naturally the command of their passions, which we find a difficulty to conquer with all our religion and philosophy: and though we may impute to them want of curiosity or insensibility, they perhaps laugh at the disquiet we give ourselves, in making discoveries which tend so little to any real advan-

They are great lovers of their wives and children, and as well beloved by them; their children are said to be of a sweet temper, and so very engaging, that the King himself makes it a great part of his diversion to play with them till they are seven years old; but when they begin to grow cunning, and have lost their childish innocence, he dismisses them for others.

Reasons of the pusillanimity of the Siamese. The want of courage in the Siamese, the ingenious LOUBIERE assigns several reasons for; first, the imagination he thinks in hot countries is very quick, and consequently the people are more apprehensive of danger than in colder climates, where the imagination is slower: a second cause, he thinks to be their low diet, which consists chiefly of rice and herbs; and 3dly, their doctrine of transmigration inspires them with an abhorrence of blood. Lastly, he says, they live under a tyrannical government, and their spirits are broken by the continual oppressions of their Princes; and, no doubt, there is a great deal in every one of these; but there may be another reason assigned, which possibly contributes as much to make them cowards as all the former; which is, their bordering upon nations so much like themselves; for the greatest coward that ever the world bred, if he was trained up in war, and enured to dangers for a few years, would become a brave fellow: but then let the natural or acquired courage of any people be never so great, if order and discipline be wanting, it is in vain to contend with regular Veterans. A body which moves as one man, and does not break its own order upon any appearance of danger, or prospect of success, will perform wonders, and make no difficulty to drive ten times their number out of the field, even of the same nation of which this very body is composed; and under no other disadvantages, but that of not being bred up in the trade of war: time and constant application are as requisite to make a soldier as a mechanick or a scholar, and courage, or a contempt of danger, may be acquired and improved as well as any other virtue: on the contrary, it may be lost again by conversing intimately with timorous and effeminate nations; it is not the being born, but the being educated and conversing in the Indies, where they seldom meet with any considerable opposition, that has rendered both the Portuguese and Dutch as cowardly as the natives.

The heat of the climate makes the inhabitants cowards. But to return to LOUBIERE, he seems positive that every man born in India, whether of Asiatick or European parents, must be destitute of all courage: he observes, that the Portuguese being degenerated, were dispossessed of their strong places in

C H A P. III. India by a company of Dutch merchants; and that the Dutch are now as much degenerated, and may as easily be dispossessed by others. But as to there being no such thing as courage among the Indians, I must take leave to disagree with LOUBIERE (for no argument, like matter of fact). We have seen several of the natives of India, both friends and enemies, sober and not intoxicated with wine or opium, behave themselves with the greatest courage in the face of the enemy, and upon other occasions: he himself tells us also, of those who were void of fear, even when they were upon the point of being torn in pieces by wild beasts, and speaks of it as of an ordinary thing in that part of the world: he observes also, that a Siamese, a Chinese, or Indian, will sacrifice their lives to gratify their revenge, to avoid a miserable life or a cruel death; and were such people bred to arms and discipline, we should not find a vast difference between Europeans and Asiatics: it may be observed also, that the Grecians and Carthaginians did not possess the coldest climates, and yet we find them severally contending for the empire of the world. But to come nearer our own times, we may remember also with what contempt we once used to talk of Irish courage; and yet there were not better troops in the world than the Irish, when they had spent some time in the service abroad; and of the various nations the late confederacy was composed of, perhaps it might be difficult to say which of them excelled in valour: I question whether there was any other difference, after they were thoroughly disciplined, than in the strength and size of men and horses. We may lay it down as a maxim, that that body whose strength is greatest generally carries its point, and that the crying up the courage of one nation before another at this day, is ridiculous: but farther to illustrate this matter, and shew that courage or an insensibility of danger (which is much the same thing in an army) may be obtained by time and use; we see men of the same town and village, whose courage is always suitable to the several professions they are of; one that is bred to the water, fears hardly any dangers on the water; he that is used to climbing will walk over a plank of a hundred foot from the ground, which shall make a man of the greatest natural courage, who is not used to such exploits, tremble: and he that has been used to have the bullets whiz about his ears for several campaigns, stand intrepid as if there was no danger in them, or, as if death was not to be dreaded. This, it must be acknowledged, proceeds more from insensibility or want of apprehension of the danger, than from any justness of reasoning, even in the wisest; but where one man has got above the fear of death by philosophizing, ten thousand have done it by enuring themselves to dangers, without ever making a single reflection on the nature of courage, or the reason of exposing their lives. This digression may be something of the longest, but I hope the reader will not think it altogether foreign, when we had so fair an occasion to treat of courage in general, and that of the Indians in particular. To return,

The Siamese are of a small stature but well proportioned, which LOUBIERE imputes to their not being swaddled and bound up in their infancy like our children; and he apprehends no other inconvenience from the women's going without stays, but their breasts hanging down to their girdles as the women of Siam do. Their complexions are swarthy enough, and the faces both

Influences to the contrary.

They want discipline more than natural courage.

Mens courage suitable to their education and employments.

Complexion of



Siamese of the Siamese

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Features.

Teeth.

Hair.

Bathing.

Habits of
the men.

Womens
habits.

Bathing.

of men and women are of the broadest, with high cheek-bones, and their foreheads suddenly contract and terminate in a point as well as their chins: they have dark small eyes, not very brisk, their jaws hollow, large mouths and thick pale lips, and their teeth died black; their noses are short and round at the end, and their ears large, which they account a beauty; long nails growing an inch or two beyond their fingers ends is looked upon also as an ornament. They have thick lank hair which both men and women cut so short that it reaches no lower than their ears, and the women make it stand up on their foreheads: the men shave their beards, and do not leave so much as whiskers.

They bathe themselves two or three times a day, or oftner, and never make a visit before they have bathed; sometimes they go into the water as we do, but at others they have water poured on their heads, which they will continue an hour together; they afterwards perfume their bodies, and use a sweet pomatum which makes their lips look paler than they naturally are.

The habit of a man of quality is a piece of calicoe tied about his loins, which reaches down to his knees; this is called the pagne. He has also a muslin shirt without a collar, with a wide sleeve and no wrist-bands, and the bosom open. In winter they wear a breadth of stuff or painted linnen over their shoulders like a mantle, and wind it about their arms. The King of Siam wears a vest of brocaded sattin with strait sleeves, which reach down to the wrist, under such a shirt as is described above, and it is not lawful for any subject to wear this vest, unless the King presents him with it. Slippers are worn with picket toes turned up; but stockings they are strangers to. To the Generals the King sometimes presents a military vest, which is buttoned before and reaches to the knees, the sleeves whereof are wide and come no lower than the elbows: and either in war or hunting the Prince and all his retinue are clothed in red. The King wears a cap in the form of a sugar-loaf, ending in a point, with a circle or coronet of precious stones about it; and those of his officers have circles of gold, silver, or vermilion gilt, to distinguish their quality, which are fastened with a stay under the chin. These caps are only worn in the King's presence, or when they preside in courts of justice, and on other extraordinary occasions; but their slippers are always left off when they enter a person's house for whom they have any respect. They have hats also for travelling; but very few people will be at the trouble of covering their heads tho' the sun shines with that scorching heat.

The women also wrap a cloth or pagne about their middles, which hangs down to the calf of their legs; the men bring up the end of this cloth strait between their legs and tuck it into their girdles, which makes it something resemble a pair of breeches.

The women have also another cloth with which they cover their breasts, and throw the ends over their shoulders; the rest of their bodies they leave naked, having no shift on as the men have, nor any covering for their heads but their hair.

The common people go almost naked, and wear neither shoes nor slippers.

The women bathe in the rivers, and swim as the men do, but never without their pagne about them, and are much commended by LOUBIERE for their modesty; and smutty songs, he says, are

prohibited by law. Such pagnes as are made of fine linnen and make a great show, and those that are made of embroidered silk, are only worn by those the Prince presents them to. The women wear as many rings on the three last fingers of each hand as they can keep on, and bracelets or rings of gold, &c. upon their wrists and ancles, with pendants in their ears fashioned like a pear.

Those who have the education of the youth teach them to express all the modesty and submission imaginable towards their superiors, and particularly instruct them not to be too noisy or talkative; for in the King's court there is always observed a profound silence, and no less in the houses of great men. The Siamese are also so cautious of saying any thing that is shocking, that they will not willingly relate a known truth which they apprehend may disgust any of the company. They seem desirous rather to learn and be instructed by their superiors, than rudely to offer their opinion without being in a manner compelled to give it. It is reckoned very ill manners to pretend to be wiser than the company, so far are they from insulting any for their ignorance. They seldom speak in the first person here, any more than in China; the words I and you seem to be banished conversation; and when they speak to women, or their superiors, they always use some respectful epithet, particularly in their addresses to the softer sex: they do not only stile her lady, or princess, but add young to it, of what age soever she be; it not being imaginable that any of the sex can with patience think themselves old, or, which is the same thing, subject to those infirmities which render them disagreeable to the other. The King's daughter is called Young Heaven, those of less quality Young Jewel, Young Flower, &c. a lady should never hear she is passed her bloom.

It is reckoned insolent to stand before a person of quality, or before their masters, and therefore slaves, &c. sit upon their heels, with their heads a little inclined, and their hands joined and lifted up to their foreheads; and in passing by a superior they bend their bodies, joining their hands, and lifting them towards their heads, in proportion to the respect they would pay. When an inferior makes a visit, he comes stooping into the room, then prostrates himself, and remains afterwards upon his knees, sitting upon his heels without speaking a word, until the person he visits speaks to him; for it is a rule, that the person of the highest quality ever speaks first. If a man of quality visits his inferior he walks upright, and the master of the house receives him at the door of the house, and waits on him so far when he goes away, but never farther. The stranger is always offered betel and arrack when he comes in by the master himself, and it is presented and taken with both hands: they treat also with tea, and sometimes rice and fish is brought out. The highest part of the house is always the most honourable, and no person cares to lodge under another's feet. Indeed, the Siamese have but one story, but, as has been observed, the rooms of the palace rise gradually, and the innermost, which are the highest, are ever the most honourable; and though their houses are built on pillars, they will never make use of that part which is underneath. When an Ambassador came from the King of Siam to the French court, LOUBIERE tells us some of his routine being lodged in a floor over the Ambassador's head, they were in the greatest consternation, when they understood

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ed at vi-
sits.

understood they were in a room above the King their master's litter, and run down, tearing their hair like madmen, for being guilty of so unpardonable a crime.

The right hand is reckoned the most honourable in Siam, as well as in Europe, and that part of the room which is opposite to the door is esteemed the first place, and always offered to the stranger. When a person comes unexpectedly into company, it often occasions a general remove, for every one must sit in the place appropriated to his quality; and the posture also is different according to the respect they are to pay. In some cases they may sit flat, in others their bodies must bend a little; sometimes they may advance one foot, at others both, and sit cross-legged; but if the person is much inferior to his company, he must remain upon his knees, resting himself on his heels: before the King they fall upon their knees, bowing their faces to the ground, and lie in that posture resting upon their elbows, and a man would be cudgelled in any company who should not observe the posture prescribed him. They never allow of those familiarities gentlemen do in Europe. Affability to inferiors, and easiness of access, is looked upon as a sign of weakness in that part of the world; and yet some things which would be looked upon as the height of ill breeding here, are taken no notice of; such as belching in company; no man endeavours to prevent it, or so much as hold his hand before his mouth on such an occasion. But I presume we are not to understand this of those who are in the King's presence; for there we are told it would be unpardonable to spit, or cough, or chew betel. In other places they have their spitting-pots, because they would not soil the carpets or mats they sit on; but as they use no handkerchiefs, they do not scruple to wipe the sweat off their faces with their fingers before their betters. They have more than ordinary respect for their heads, and it is a mortal affront to touch or stroke them: nay, even their cap must not be used too familiarly; but when a servant carries it, it is put on a stick above his head, and hung upon the stick, when the master stands still, having a foot for that purpose; for, as has been observed, the cap is a badge of authority, and not worn but on solemn occasions. They shew their respect also, by lifting their hands to their head; and therefore when they receive a commission, or but a letter from any one they have a respect for, they first hold it up to their heads, and sometimes lay it upon their heads, as Mr LOUBIERE tells us, he did the King of Siam's letter sent to the French King, when he received it, in conformity to their customs; and that Ambassador observes, that the French King having admitted the Siamese Ambassador to his audience standing, the French were permitted also to stand at their audience in Siam, and were not obliged to sit upon their heels, after the custom of that country.

Saluta-
tion.

When they salute *en passant*, it is with both hands joined together lifted towards their head, or the right hand at least. Whenever they answer any thing the King says to them, it is introduced with the usual preface, viz. High and mighty Lord of me thy slave, suffer me to take thy royal word, and fix it in my mind, and preserve it on the crown of my head. An infinite number of other ceremonies and rules of behaviour are prescribed them, but this is sufficient to give the reader a tolerable notion of that people.

Amongst their diversions, hunting the elephant is one: the male is taken by leading a female elephant into the wood, who with her noise entices him to a narrow strait between two high banks of earth, fortified with the bodies of trees, and the place gradually grows less and less, until the wild elephant is so wedged in that he cannot turn himself; then the hunters contrive to hamper his legs with great ropes, and bring two or three tame elephants who compel him to march between them, and by fair or foul means, in a few days, he is content to submit to discipline.

There is another way of surrounding the elephants with fire, to drive them into the snare; but this will be described in the history of Ceylon.

They have mock-fights with elephants; but they are kept at too great a distance to hurt one another; and they neither expose the lives of men or beasts at Siam by way of sport.

They were great lovers of cock-fighting; but the priests have procured an order to prohibit it, looking on killing a cock as little less than murder, and threatened the promoters of this sport, that they should be bastinadoed with bars of iron in the other world.

They have also the diversion of comedies, rope-dancing, and tumbling; and their tumblers LOUBIERE thinks to be some of the best in the world.

A festival is celebrated annually; when the waters begin to retire, they go out in their barges in the evening, and the whole river is covered with floating lanterns made of painted paper; and they return thanks for several nights together, for that fertility which the waters bring with them. They also make another magnificent illumination to express their gratitude to heaven for the fruits of the earth after harvest, and not only their barges, but their houses and streets, are all illuminated, and several curious fire-works are made on these occasions.

The Siamese also, as well as some other eastern people, are fond of that boyish diversion of flying the paper-kite. The King of Siam, LOUBIERE tells us, comes abroad every night, during the two winter months, to see the flying of this kite with a lantern tied to it, and his Mandarins take it by turns to hold the string.

There are three other kinds of diversions which LOUBIERE mentions, namely, the cone, the laycone, and the rabam. The cone is a figure-dance, at which they use a violin, and some other musical instruments; those who dance are armed and masked, and seem to be acting a fight rather than a dance, and their masks represent the figures of monstrous beasts or devils. In the laycone the actors reciprocally sing verses containing the histories of their country, and all the actors are men. The rabam is a double dance of men and women, not martial but gallant, and they have all of them long false nails made of copper; they sing in the dance, which is only a simple slow march without any high motion, but with a great many contortions of the body and arms. Those who dance in the rabam and cone have high gilded paper caps in the form of a sugar-loaf, and those persons who act in the cone and rabam always perform at funerals; those who act at the laycone perform their parts at the dedication of their temples, when a new statue of their Sommona Codom is set up: at this festival also there is the diversion of wrestling, and mock-fights, and races with oxen that

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Diver-
sions.Cock-
fighting.Comedies,
&c.

Festivals.

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of the
cone, lay-
cone, and
rabam.

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Races of
oxen.

run round a ring; sometimes only one ox runs against another, each of them being led by a man who runs on foot; but most commonly they run a yoke of oxen fastened to a plough, which run against another yoke, and a person holds each plough so that it does not touch the ground. They do not stand together, but opposite to each other, and looking different ways, being half the compass of the circle asunder, and that yoke of oxen which gains ground of the other after a certain number of rounds, wins the plate.

Rowing
wagers.

One of the most common diversions among them is rowing for wagers upon the rivers in their barges, being very expert at the oar from their youth. They love gaming also to such a degree, that they will play away their own liberty and their children's; one of their chiefest plays is chess, which is not very different from ours, but they do not play either at cards or hazard.

New and
full moons
Holidays.

The new and full moon are holidays, or rather days of fasting; for neither priests or people eat any thing in the afternoon of those days: the people also then abstain from fishing; not that they are obliged to cease from their labours on these days; but it seems fishing is not deemed an employment altogether innocent. The people also at these times present their alms, or rather offerings, to the priests in their convents, consisting of money, linen, cloaths, and cattle, if they be dead cattle the Talapoins eat them. Besides these holidays of the new and full moon, there is a feast observed, which LOUBIERE takes to be the feast of the dedication of their respective temples, but is not positive in it: on all holidays the people assist in their best cloaths, and, as a great act of charity, release some wild animals, which they buy of those that take them. Their offerings are presented by the priest to their idol, who either holds it in both his hands before the shrine, or lays it upon the altar, and some time after it is converted to the priest's use: lighted tapers are sometimes offered, but never any bloody sacrifice, the killing of animals being prohibited them.

Releasing
animals
deemed an
act of
great cha-
rity.

Diet.

The principal food of the Siamese is rice, and fish; the sea affords them good small oysters, turtles or tortoise, and lobsters, and several other excellent kinds of fish, unknown in Europe: they have also great plenty of river fish, especially eels, but they make no great account of them. Bala-chaun, which is made of small fish, corrupted and reduced to a mash, has been already described in Tonquin, and is in much esteem amongst them.

They choose to eat dried salt-fish, tho' it stinks, rather than fresh; nor will they refuse rats, mice, locusts, lizards, or almost any insects, any more than the Chinese.

Provisions
cheap.

A pound of rice will serve a Siamese a whole day, which may be bought for a farthing, and with as much salt-fish as he can purchase for a farthing more he is very well satisfied, and a pint of arrack or spirits is not worth above two pence; so that the meaner sort of people having but little care to take for a subsistence, nothing but singing is heard in their houses of an evening.

Arrack.

Their sauces are made only of water, with a little spice, garlic, and sweet herbs, or cupi made of decayed shell-fish, the same with the nukemum of Tonquin.

They have neither olives or eating oil but what is made of coco-nuts, and that is hardly eatable by strangers when it has been kept any time; however the natives use it on all occasions: it is fitter for lamps than any thing; and LOUBIERE very

well observes, that when travellers represent things as good and excellent, great regard must be had to the judgment or taste of the person who makes the relation, or we shall be in danger of entertaining very wrong notions in many instances; he justly observes also, that there is nothing, how nauseous soever, but custom will render it tolerable, if not pleasant; and those things which we were once fond of, by using ourselves to a different regimen, become nauseous.

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They milk the female buffalo, and this milk, Milk. it is said, affords more cream than cow's milk; but they make no sort of cheese, and very little butter: they seldom eat flesh, but when they do they choose the guts and intestines, and what is most nauseous to us; and insects are their only roast-meat.

Their land fowls, and all their butcher's meat, Poultry. is tough and dry; and the Europeans themselves who inhabit Siam, in time, leave off eating them.

There are no good grapes at Siam, those that Grapes. are planted in the King's gardens at Louvo, produce a poor small grape of a bitterish taste.

River water is their ordinary drink there being Liquor. few springs in the flat country, which is most inhabited, and they love to drink it perfumed; it is not wholesome until it has stood to settle some days, according to the height of the inundation: when the waters retire, their streams are filled with mud, and the water cannot be drunk without standing in jars three weeks or a month; it occasions dysenteries and other diseases in those that drink it fresh taken up: the water the King of Siam drinks is taken out of a great cistern which stands in the fields, and is continually guarded by soldiers: there is also a great pond or basin of about three leagues in circumference, near the Louvo, which they call the rich sea, where the rain water is preserved, of which also the King drinks sometimes; it being deep and settled the waters are accounted very wholesome.

The people of the city of Siam drink tea at Tea. their entertainments, and use it also as a remedy against the head-ach: after five or six cups they will go to bed and sweat off an ordinary indisposition; and sudorificks, it seems, are their general remedies.

They drink their tea with little bits of sugar-candy in their mouths, but put no sugar into the dishes.

Tea may be made with cold water, LOUBIERE Cold tea. observes, and advises cistern water as the best to make it with, whether boiled or cold.

The Siamese will drink wine or strong drink freely when they can come at it, notwithstanding their religion forbids it; but their country affords no strong liquors except arrack, which they distil from rice, and toddy, which is drawn from the coco-tree.

The Moors at Siam drink coffee, the Portuguese chocolate, and the English arrack punch, as Mr LOUBIERE observes, here and all over the east, which our countrymen understand the making of so well, that they will excuse the omitting LOUBIERE's receipt for it.

The Siamese admire fruit of all things, and eat it all day long; but they have none of the fruits known in Europe, unless oranges, lemons, citrons, and pomegranates: they have also bonanos or Indian figs: these and the oranges of one kind or other continue all the year, but the other fruits have their seasons.

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III.

Treats of their trade, manufactures and mechanic arts, coins, weights and measures, and of their shipping and navigation.

King engrosses the trade.

THE King engrosses most part of the trade of the kingdom to himself, and even descends to sell goods by retail in shops by his factors.

He sells to his subjects all their cotton cloths, which is the common wear of that people; he claims all the oar in the mines, which he sells to foreigners: his subjects are obliged to sell him all their ivory and arrack, which he disposes of to foreigners; saltpetre, lead, and japan wood also belongs to the King, and gunpowder, sulphur, and arms, can only be had at the King's magazines.

Trade lost.

He sometimes also agrees with the Dutch to sell them all the skins and furs the country affords at a certain price; and thereupon his subjects are obliged to sell them to him first: but brown sugar, sugar-candy, and amber-grease, merchants may deal with his subjects for, without restraint.

Formerly, not less than a thousand vessels annually traded to Siam, there are now hardly any but a few small Dutch barks; none care to deal with the King who will make his own terms; and as the natural product or manufactures of the kingdom are not very considerable, and foreigners have not the liberty of trading with one another, or with the natives till the King has had the preference of all the best merchandize, it is not very advantageous trading thither; and had the natives of Siam a full liberty of trade, yet are they so oppressed by the services and impositions that are exacted of them, that they have hardly money enough in many provinces to furnish themselves with necessities, much less to lay out in trade: nor does the money that is raised by taxes circulate, but great part of it is hoarded up by the Prince and his Grantees: and if inferior people have any, they are forced to bury it to conceal it.

Money buried and hoarded up.

Manufactures and mechanic arts.

Here are no particular handicraft trades, but every man understands something of all; for the King employs half his subjects for six months in the year in any business indifferently, and if any person should be perfectly ignorant of what he is set about, he would suffer the bastinado. On the other hand, none endeavour to excel, for fear of being retained in the King's service all their life-time. Another thing, which is a discouragement to their industry, is the tyranny of the government, which will suffer no man to enjoy a fortune, if he should acquire one, but seizes on his effects, whenever he is thought to be rich. They are indifferent carpenters; but as they have no nails, fasten on their work well enough with pins. They know how to burn brick, and make the hardest cements, and are not unskilful in masonry. They know how to cast metals, and cover their idols, which are monstrous masses of brick and lime, with plates of gold, silver, and copper. They cover also the hilts of swords and daggers, and several of the King's moveables, with these plates; but they neither know how to polish or set precious stones.

They know how to beat gold, and can gild a vessel tolerably well. They make use only of cast iron, being very bad forgers. Their horses are never shod; and they have but poor saddles and

accoutrements, not having the art of tanning leather, yet they make a little ordinary cotton cloth, and paint it very coarsely. They make no kind of stuffs, either of wool, silk, or tapestry; but they embroider well enough. They have not the art of painting in oil, and delight much in monstrous figures. They affect an extravagance in painting, it is said, as we do in poetry, and represent animals that never were; and give men impossible proportions after the manner of the Chinese.

CHAP. IV.

All European artists and handicrafts are very acceptable to the Indian Princes; but though they give them great encouragement while they stay, an European is seldom permitted to bring much out of the service.

European artists encouraged.

The usual employment of the common people is fishing, and those who have any stocks follow merchandize; but the King reserving almost all the advantages of foreign trade to himself, it is difficult for a subject to raise a fortune. It is observable also, that that simplicity of manners, and neglect of superfluities, so remarkable in the Siamese, restrains them from following several mechanic arts and employments, in which the Europeans busy themselves.

As to the retail traders in shops and markets, such is the honesty of the Siamese, LOUBIERE informs us, that the seller hardly counts the money he receives, or the buyer the goods he purchases by tale; and when they observe the Europeans buying every little thing with great caution, they laugh at their abundant care.

Honesty of the Siamese.

Their markets begin at five in the evening, and last till eight or nine at night.

Markets.

They use no ell, but buy muslin and linnen by the piece.

No measure for cloth.

Those are very poor who buy it by the ken or cubit, for which they have no other measure but their own.

They have however a fathom which they use in building, and in the measuring their roads and canals, which is the length of a French toise within an inch; and the roads are marked with a stone at every mile's end.

Fathom.

They use the coco-nut shell, as a measure for grain and liquors; but as these shells are very unequal, they measure the capacity by the number of cowries, or shells they hold, which we call black-moor's teeth, and serve for small money at Siam. Some cocos hold a thousand cowries, some five hundred, and so more or less. They have also a kind of wicker measure, called a sat, with which they measure corn, and a pitcher for liquids; but as there is no standard for these, the buyer sometimes measures the capacity of them by his coco-shell. Nor are their weights more certain than their measures; pieces of money are their usual weights, and they are often false or light.

Measure for grain and liquors.

Weights.

They have but one sort of silver coin, called a Tycall; they are all of the same fashion, and have the same stamps; but some are less than others; they are of the figure of a cylinder or roll bent both ends together, and have a stamp on each side, with odd characters, the meaning of which our travellers can give us no account of; those on one side are included with a ring, and those on the reverse with a figure of the shape of a heart.

Coins.

The tycall should weigh half a French crown, Tycall. and is worth three shillings and three halfpence. They have no gold or copper money: gold is reckoned among their merchantable commodities, and is twelve times the value of silver.

The

CHAP. IV. The shells called cowries serve to buy little matters; they are found chiefly at the Maldivé islands to the south of India, and are current in all the countries thereabouts; they differ in their price as they are plentiful or scarce; but the value of them at Siam is generally eight hundred for a penny.

Cowries.

The principal trade of the English in this country is driven at the port of Malacca, in the possession of the Dutch: hither the English send two or three country ships yearly from the coast of Cormandel and the bay of Bengal, with calicoes, flight silks, opium, &c. and make profitable returns in canes, rattans, benjamin, long pepper, sugar, sugarcandy, Japan wood, and sometimes gold may be had at a reasonable rate; but this is a trade prohibited by the Dutch, and carried on by the connivance of the governor, council, and fiscal. And 'tis observed, that the magistrates and principal officers in the Dutch settlements, being most of them friends or relations of those who compose the state, and sent abroad to make their fortunes, will deal almost with any people to enrich their private families, notwithstanding the prohibition of the company to the contrary. And were it not for this general connivance of the Dutch officers, almost all over the Indies, the trade of the English and other nations would be much more inconsiderable than it is. For the Dutch have fortified and planted garrisons in all parts of the Indies where it will countervail the charge, and where it will not, they have their guard-ships to prevent the natives dealing with other people. 'Tis a common thing with them, to pretend they have bought up all the pepper, or other merchandize, that such a country has to dispose of, to prevent foreigners going thither; when there has never been any such contract; and under pretence of guarding the Maylay coast from pyrates, they will lie before their ports, and restrain them from dealing with any but themselves: so that great part of that trade we have in the Indies, is either at second hand from the Dutch, or only their leavings, and consists in such things as they do not think it worth while to meddle with. The Dutch are also so strong in shipping in this part of the world, that in countries where they have no fortified towns or garrisons, they will block up the harbours of the most potent Prince in India, and compel him to accept of such duties as they think fit to pay him; while other Europeans are forced oftentimes to submit to such terms as are imposed upon them.

But to return to Malacca: Mr LOCKYER has given us the following account of their weights and the prices goods bore there in the year 1704.

The weights, he says, are 16 mace to 1 buncal of 1 ounce 9 pennyweight 12 grains troy; 100 catty are a pecul of 137 lb. is 5½ lb. larger than the common China pecul, and 3 pecul are a bahar.

Price current July 1704.

	Rixdollar.	Sk.
Allum per pecul — — — —	—	02 06
Aquila wood ditto — — — —	50 to	150 00
Benjamin head ditto — — — —	50	00
Benjamin foot ditto — — — —	14	00
Canes per mille — — — —	60	00
Copper per pecul — — — —	24	00
Coffees Bengal per corge — — — —	100	00
Gobars fine ditto — — — —	70	00
Gold Acheen per buncal — — — —	24	00

	Rix.	Sk.
Gold Bencallis ditto — — — —	24	00
Gold China ditto 93 ½ touch — — — —	24	06
Gold China in shoes 94 touch — — — —	25	00
Long pepper per pecul — — — —	05	02
Lungees Bengal per corge — — — —	12	00
Lungees fort St David ditto — — — —	14	00
Lungees Madrafs ditto — — — —	15	04
Morees blue ditto — — — —	35	00
Morees fine ditto — — — —	60	00
Morees ordinary ditto — — — —	30	00
Mulmuls ordinary ditto — — — —	65	00
Nillaes ditto — — — —	35	00
Nutmegs preferred per 100 — — — —	05	00
Opium per cheft — — — —	312	00
Putchuck, or custos dulcis, per pecul — — — —	15	00
Quicksilver — — — —	80	00
Rattans per 100 bundles 14 foot long — — — —	16	00
Romals Bengal ordinary per corge — — — —	26	00
Romals Mechlepatam ditto — — — —	40	00
Sago very cheap — — — —	—	—
Silks from China about 28 per cent profit — — — —	—	—
Sugar per pecul — — — —	03	00
Sugarcandy ditto — — — —	05	03
Syrasnes per corge — — — —	48	00
Taffaties Bengal ditto — — — —	60	00
Tappees 4 to 6 coveds long ditto — — — —	10	00
Tappees fine ditto per corge — — — —	22	00
Tepois coarse ditto — — — —	22	00
Tepois fine ditto — — — —	35	00
Tutanaque per pecul — — — —	7 to	09 00
Tyn per behar — — — —	40	00

To this account of the trade of Malacca, I A farther shall subjoin a farther description of the place, and inhabitants, extracted chiefly from Mr DAMPIER and Mr LOCKYER, who were both upon the place.

The town of Malacca stands on a low level ground, close to the sea side: on the east side of the town there is a river, which at a spring tide will admit of small vessels; and on the east side of this river stands a strong fort, between which and the town, there is a communication by a draw-bridge: this fort is built at the foot of a little steep hill, and is of a semi-circular form, like the adjacent hill: the walls are founded on a rock, very thick, and are carried up to a considerable height; and the lower part of them is washed by the sea at every tide: on the other side of the hill, there is a large moat cut from the sea to the above said river, which makes it an island; and that part next the land is stocked with great trees: on the hill, stands one little church which serves the Dutch inhabitants; and it is to be presumed, the Portuguese, who are pretty numerous, may have a chapel in the town; but travellers do not mention any temple for the rest of the inhabitants.

In the town there are between two and three hundred families of Dutch, Portuguese, Chinese, and Moors, and two or three great Armenian merchants. The Chinese have the best shops, which are filled with the manufactures and produce of their country, and such other goods as there is any demand for there: the houses in the town are generally built with stone, and the streets are wide and strait, but not paved: the native Malaysians, who inhabit the suburbs, live in poor mean cottages, and are kept in great subjection by their haughty Dutch masters; but it is observed, they still retain a desperate sullenness in their looks; and the Malaysians of the neighbouring provinces have frequently revenged themselves on the Dutch, for the tyranny and oppression exercised on them, and

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IV.

and that restraint the Hollanders put upon their trade all along the Malayan coast by their guard ships, inasmuch that it is very difficult for this people to trade with any but the Dutch.

The town of Malacca is healthful, considering the climate, and is neither subject to the hot winds of the coast of Cormandel, or those chilling ones in Sumatra. It is not a place of any great trade at this day; but as the Dutch are masters of the freights of Sunda to the south of Sumatra, and this town gives them the command of the freights, which bear the name of Malacca, to the north, while they are in possession of this place, they have in a manner the trade of China and Japan in their hands, and can exclude any other nation from it they happen to be at war with. Indeed ships may pass the freights of Malacca, without coming within the reach of the guns of their forts; but then they have guard-ships there ready to intercept their enemies; and they actually make the Portuguese pay toll for every ship that passes by at this day, as the Portuguese formerly served them. And it is observed, that this town is naturally so strong, that the Dutch could never have taken it, if the Portuguese had not been frightened out of it.

Shipping.

The shipping of the Siamese is very inconsiderable. The King has only five or six small ships, which he uses to trade with, and mans with Europeans, and sometimes he sends them to make reprisals on his neighbours, who have injured him; but his captains at sea, as well as land, have orders to kill no body. He has also forty or fifty gallies, manned with about sixty men each, which are of some service in the gulph of Siam, in a smooth sea, but of no great use elsewhere.

Barges.

They have very fine balons or barges in their rivers, sixteen or twenty foot long, and yet made out of the body of a single tree. They first hollow the tree, and then by the heat of the fire enlarge the capacity of it; after which they raise the sides with a board, and make both head and stern very high, adorning them with sculpture, and gilding, and mother of pearl.

These barges are no wider than two men may sit cross-legged on a bench by one another. There are sometimes forty pegayeurs, or rowers, to one barge, ranged two and two, with their legs a-cross, upon a plank; they sing as they row, and keep an exact time in every motion; the steersman stands in the stern, and steers with an oar; and an apartment for the company is built with bambou, in the middle of the vessel; the several orders of the Mandarins are distinguished by the workmanship or colour of their barge. If any of them are upon the water when the King comes by, all the Mandarins prostrate themselves in their barges, and not a barge stirs till the King is out of sight. As their vessels are very narrow, and rowed by abundance of hands, they go with an incredible swiftness, even against the stream.

CHAP. V.

Treats of the nature of the soil, husbandry, gardening, plants, animals, and minerals; and shews the manner of travelling in this country.

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V.
Soil.

THEIR soil has been gradually formed by the clay, and other earth, which the floods wash down from the mountains; they have very little stony ground, and there is hardly a flint to be found in the country.

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It is the mud which the river leaves behind which makes the earth fertile, as far as it extends: all the higher grounds are dried and burnt up by the sun, soon after the rains are over; and tho' their lands, some of them, are naturally fruitful, yet they are so subject to drougths, insects, and other inconveniencies, that they are sometimes deprived of their harvest several years together, and such years are generally succeeded with pestilential distempers.

Upon the land which the inundation does not reach, they sometimes sow wheat, and water it like a garden, by little channels cut through the fields: they have two crops yearly, but not on the same ground.

They plow with oxen and buffaloes, and guide them with a rope run through their nose.

Their plough is plain, and without wheels; they have a share and a staff to hold it by, and it is not much unlike our foot-ploughs in other respects, only instead of nails, the pieces are fastened together with thongs and pins.

They tread out the rice with cattle, instead of thrashing it; and to get the dust and chaff out, they pour it down by degrees from some high place, and the wind separates the one from the other; but the rice having still a hard thick skin about it, they beat it in a wooden mortar to get off this skin, and make it fit for boiling.

The Siamese prepare their lands for tillage, when the floods have sufficiently moistened the earth: they plant their rice before the waters come to any height, and as the water increases slowly, the rice keeps pace with it; so that the ear is always above the water; and when the water retires, they reap the harvest, and sometimes go in boats to cut it, while the waters are upon the ground.

They sow rice also in several parts of the kingdom, which are not overflowed; and this is reckoned better relished, and will keep longer than the other; but they are forced to feed these fields constantly with water, while the rice is growing, from ponds and basons, which lie above them.

The King of Siam antiently set his hand to the plough on a certain day every year, as his neighbours of Tonquin and China also did; but this ceremony is now annually performed by an officer in his Majesty's room, when a great sacrifice is made to Sommona Codom their god; and he is implored to be propitious to their labours.

The Siamese cultivate their gardens no less than their fields, and have pulse and roots; but for the most part different from ours: they have also garlick, potatoes, and radishes in them, but no onions, carrots, turnips, or parsnips, or any colworts or lettuce, or any herbs of which our salads are composed. Cucumbers they have here, which LOUBIERE observes are much more innocent than ours, people eating freely of them without any inconvenience; and the garlick, he says, loses much of its rankness in this hot country.

Gardens.

After the time of the inundation, they cover the plants in their gardens from the heat of the sun, as we do from the cold.

The Siamese have none of the fruits known in Europe, except oranges, lemons, citrons, and pomegranates; the oranges of one kind or other continue all the year, but most other fruit has its season: they have also Indian figs, bonanoes, goyvaes, jaques, durions, mangoes, mangostans, tamarinds, annanas, and coco-nuts; they abound also in pepper and sugar-canes, and great part of their

CHAP. V. their food consisting of garden-stuff, their kitchen gardens lie for several leagues together upou the river Menan, between Bancock and Siam. LOUBIERE observes of the Indian fruits in general, that they have so strong a taste and smell, that few foreigners like them till they have been used to them.

Flowers. As to flowers, they have the tuberoſe, gilly-flower, and ſome few roſes; but they have much leſs ſcent than in Europe: they have alſo ſome jeſſamin, amaranthus and tricolets, but no other European flowers; tho' they have others peculiar to the country, agreeable enough for their beauty and fine ſmell; but it is obſervable, that ſome of them ſmell only in the night-time, the heat of the day entirely deſtroying the ſcent.

Wood. The hilly part of this country being almoſt wholly uncultivated, is covered with woods; but the tree, or rather reed, of the greateſt uſe amongſt them is the bambou, which grows chiefly in marſhy ſoils, and, like reeds and ſedge, is found on the ſides of ponds and rivers. It appears alſo not unlike them when it is young, but grows to a prodigious bigneſs, and hardens, ſo that it may be applied to any uſe. When it is green and tender they pickle it for ſauce. It is hollow, and the ſhoots are ſeparated by knots; it has branches and thorns which our reeds have not, and each root ſhoots out ſeveral ſtems, ſo that nothing is thicker, or more difficult to paſs, than a foreſt of bambou; and the more ſo, becauſe the wood is hard and difficult to cut, tho' nothing will cleave eaſier: the Siameſe, it is ſaid, ſtrike fire with it; and has, like other canes, a ſugary pitch.

Bambou ſtrikes fire. Sugar in it.

Trees.

They have timber fit for building ſhips and for maſts, but their cordage is made of the ſkin or huſk which covers the coco-nut, whoſe fibres are twiſted like a thread.

They have alſo timber for houſes and wainſcoting, and a wood that will not cleave, called wood-mary by the Europeans, and ſaid to be very proper to make ribs of ſhips. They have another wood, which for its lightneſs and colour is thought to be fir by ſome; but LOUBIERE obſerves, that it takes the workman's chifſel ſo many different ways without ſplitting, that he thinks we have not the like in Europe.

The Siameſe have cotton trees in great plenty, and another which yields capoc or cotton-wool extremely fine, but ſo ſhort, that there is no ſpinning of it; and therefore it is uſed in ſtuffing mattresses and pillows: they extract alſo an oil from ſome of their trees, which they mix with their cements; and there are other trees which yield lacter and gums: cinnamon trees alſo are found here, inferior only to thoſe of Ceylon; and they have the ſapan and other woods proper for dying.

The lignum aloes, or aquila, may be had here alſo, but it is not ſo good as that in Cochinchina: this wood is found only in little pieces in the rottenneſt part of the tree, and every tree of the ſame ſpecies has it not; but it requires a very tedious ſearch to find it.

Beaſts.

Of their elephants I have ſpoken under another head: they have few horſes, ſheep, or goats, and thoſe not good eating any more than their oxen and buffaloes; the latter are chiefly for tillage. Their hogs are ſmall, but fat, and the wholeſomeſt food that is eaten. Hares are ſcarce, and there are no rabbits.

A cow is not worth more than ten ſols in the country, and about a crown in the city of Siam;

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CHAP. V. a ſheep four crowns, and a goat three; a pig ſeven ſols, hens twenty pence a dozen, and ducks a crown a dozen; veniſon is not wanting, though a great deal is deſtroyed by wild beaſts; the inhabitants kill deer only for their ſkins, which are ſold to the Dutch, and carried by them to Japan.

Ducks are plentiful and very good; peacocks and pigeons are wild here; their partridges are grey, and both pigeons and partridges perch upon trees to avoid the inundation: they have excellent ſnipes, and their turtle doves have a variety of gay plumage, and they have parrots, and other ſmall birds: wild fowl there is in abundance, for the natives will neither kill nor take them; but the Moors have falcons which they bring from Perſia to fly at the game.

Fowls.

Moſt of the birds of Siam, it is obſerved, are beautiful to look upon but unpleaſant to hear; there are ſeveral that will imitate the voice, and all have ſome cry, but none have any harmonious notes.

Birds.

There are alſo ſparrows, crows, and vultures in Siam; the ſparrows are ſo tame that they come into the houſes and pick up the inſects, and the crows and vultures are as tame, being fed by the people out of charity; and, if we may believe LOUBIERE, they give their children to be eaten by theſe fowls, if they die before they are three years old: it is ſo far from being thought a curſe in this country to have their carcaſſes devoured by birds of prey, that, next to burning, this is deemed the moſt honourable burial.

Inſects abound in Siam, ſuch as lizards, ſnakes, ſcorpions, millepedes, &c. and their ants and gnats are extremely troubleſome; the ants will pierce through the very covers of books, which obliges the Miſſionaries to waſh them over with varniſh, and this preſerves them: theſe ants, to avoid the inundation, make their neſts, and lay up their magazines, in the tops of trees; there are a multitude of inſects in their waters alſo unknown to us, and they have a ſhining fly like a locuſt, which gives a conſiderable light in the dark; but theſe are killed, or driven away, by the north-wind, when the rains ceaſe.

This country, generally deemed the golden Rich Cheriſoneſe, LOUBIERE obſerves, was antiently rich in mines, and the great number of idols, and other caſt-works that are found amongſt them, as well as the old pits that are daily diſcovered here, ſhew that there have been more wrought than there are at preſent: the great quantity of gold with which their images, and the walls and roofs of their temples are adorned, make it evident alſo that a great quantity of that metal has formerly been extracted out of their mines.

Rich mines here formerly.

However, the late King, who reigned anno 1688, our author tells us, had not been able to diſcover any conſiderable vein of gold or ſilver that was worth the working, although he had employed ſeveral Europeans in the ſearch, and particularly a Spaniard, who had been concerned in the mines of Mexico; that after all their pains, they had been able to find only ſome inconfiderable mines of copper, intermixed with a little gold and ſilver: Mr VINCENT, an European phyſician, lately directed them to a mine of good ſteel at the top of a mountain which had been formerly opened; he ſhewed them alſo a mine of cryſtal, one of anti-mony, and another of emeral, with a quarry of white marble: the ſame Mr VINCENT acquainted our author, that he had found a gold mine which he believed to be very rich; but he did not diſcover it

None at preſent opened, tho' they are conſiderable.

Steel;

THE PRESENT STATE OF SIAM.

CHAP. V. to the King: he assured him also, that several of the Talapoins, and others, came secretly to him, to learn how to purify and separate metals, and brought him specimens of very rich ore. Their mines of tin and lead, the Siamese have long improved from very plentiful mines; this tin is but meanly purified, however, they make the tea boxes and canisters of it which come from India.

Lead. Near the city of Louvo, there is a mountain of loadstone, and another in the island of Jonfalani, which lies on the Malacca-coast in the bay of Bengal; but the latter loses its virtue within three or four months.

Precious There is found also some agate, sapphires, and diamonds, in their mountains; but the King's officers seizing things of this nature to his Majesty's use, the people have no encouragement to search for them.

Way of travelling. Besides the elephant, they have the ox and buffalo to ride on; but they use neither horses, asses, or mules: the Moors have some camels which are brought from other countries; they use the female elephants chiefly for carriage; the males are trained to the war: every one is at liberty to hunt elephants, and take them to use, but not to kill them.

Chairs. Their chairs which they travel in, are placed on a kind of bier, and carried by four, or eight men on their shoulders, one or two to each pole, and others run by to be ready to relieve them: those chairs have sometimes a back and arms like our dressing chairs, and sometimes are only encompassed with a rail, or ballister, about half a foot high; they are generally open at top, and the Siamese sit cross-legged in them.

It is only some few of the great men whom the King suffers to ride in chairs; and the Europeans are permitted the use of palanquins, or couches, carried on men's shoulders, with a canopy over them.

CHAP. VI.

Treats of their learning, honours, language, characters, history, and chronology.

CHAP. VI. **Educa-** **tion.** **W**HEN their children are 7 or 8 years old, they send them to a convent of Talapoins, or Priests, where they take the Talapoin's habit on them, but quit it again at pleasure: they are subsisted here with food sent them by their friends; and those that are of good families have a slave or two to attend them.

Their learning. They are taught writing, reading, and arithmetic; they learn also the Balie, or court language, and some principles of morality, with the mysteries of their religion; but are not instructed in their laws, or history, or any speculative science.

Writing. They write from the left-hand to the right, as in Europe, and have an alphabet consisting of a few letters both for the Balie and Siamese language; but there depends a great deal upon the accent, or tone of the voice, here as well as in China; and lofty figures and metaphorical expressions are very frequent among the Siamese as well as other eastern nations.

Figurative way of speaking. They have ten characters to which they join a cypher, as we do, and reckon in like manner by units, tens, hundreds, &c.

Poetry. Their poetry consists in a certain number of syllables and rhymes; but is extremely difficult to

translate justly. Their songs are some of them historical, some contain rules of morality, others appear wanton enough when translated, though LOUBIERE will not have them to be so in the original language.

Orators. Orators we are told they have none; and one reason may be, because there are none whose profession, or interest, leads them to that study; for every man manages his own cause without an advocate; his allegations and proofs are taken down by a register, and then the magistrate determines upon them: besides, speaking and haranguing is not at all in fashion in Siam; it is ill manners to address a superior in any terms, though never so respectful; but when a person appears before his betters, he waits till he is spoke to, and then only answers such questions as are propounded to him; and even their compliments, and words of ceremony, are all prescribed, so that there is no room for a wit to display his talents.

They understand nothing of philosophy, nor do they study the laws of their country till they are preferred to some post, and then a copy of instructions to be observed in that office is put into their hands.

Physick. Their skill in physick is very mean, the King has Chinese, Peguans, and Siamese physicians, and lately had a French Missionary for his physician, to whom the rest were obliged daily to report the state of the prince's health, and to receive from his hands the remedies he prepared. In surgery they understand nothing, and are forced to make use of European surgeons when they let blood, which has but lately been practised amongst them. They will sometimes open dead bodies, but it is only to impose on the credulity of the people: they pretend sometimes that they find vast pieces of flesh, of eight or ten pounds weight, in the stomach of the deceased, and that it was occasioned by witchcraft. They seldom vary their receipts, but follow those they have received from their ancestors, and cure many distempers by them; which LOUBIERE imputes to the temperance of the Siamese, who are easily cured; but when the distemper is too strong for them, they constantly give out that the patient was enchanted. In all distempers almost they rub and mould the body with their hands; and that stroking used by the famous GREATRAKES in the reign of King CHARLES the second, possibly was much of the same nature. A gentle stroking one would think should do no great feats; but this rubbing and squeezing of the flesh is often used in India when people are in perfect health, by way of amusement; they will employ their slaves some hours in the operation.

Their physicians sometimes make use of purging, but no vomiting; they sweat away most distempers; and, 'tis said, will advise bathing in fevers: but one thing is observable in India, namely, that the patient eats nothing but congee, or watergruel made of rice, till he is well again; and possibly this regimen may recover more than all the remedies they prescribe.

The diseases of the country are principally fluxes and dysenteries, to which foreigners are more subject than the natives; but agues or intermitting fevers are seldom heard of here, or in any other hot country, any more than the gout or stone, phthisick, scurvy, or dropsy. The small-pox often rages here, and is almost as mortal as the plague in other countries: those that die of this distemper they bury, to prevent infection; but after

CHAP. VI. after three years dig their bodies up again to burn, and give them an honourable funeral.

Astro-ny. Their astronomy, as has been observed, is very imperfect; nor do they understand any thing of the true system of the world: they believe, with the Chinese, that the eclipses are caused by some dragon, who stands ready to devour the sun and moon; and make a great noise with pans and kettles to drive him away from those planets.

Geog-ny. The earth they believe to be square, and of a vast extent; and that the arch of heaven rests on it at the extremities, as on a solid basis.

Astro-7. There are persons amongst them that pretend to and to foretel events; but if they deceive the King when he consults them, he orders them to be bastinadoed, not as impostors, 'tis said, but for their carelessness, to which he imputes the mistake: and when his physicians administer physick to his Majesty, which has not the effect they promise, he orders the physicians to be well drubb'd. Neither the King, nor any of his subjects, ever undertake any thing of consequence, without consulting their astrologers, nor will he so much as stir abroad, if they declare it to be an unlucky hour.

Mens. They are governed much also by presages and omens, the howling of wild beasts, and the cries of apes are ominous; a snake crossing the way, or any thing falling down unaccountably, without any apparent cause, is no less dreadful than a hare's crossing the way, or the overturning the salt, in Europe; nor will they move forward on such an accident, how pressing or important soever their business be. One way of foretelling what shall happen is this, they perform some superstitious ceremony, after which they go out into the town, and the first words they hear accidentally spoken in the street, they apply to the thing they would be informed in, and look upon them to be as infallible as an oracle. But great part of their superstition is employed in driving away evil spirits; for example, when they prepare a medicine, they fasten to the brim of the vessel papers with some mysterious words, to prevent the porpaysons, or fairies, running away with the virtue of the dose. It is one of these spirits also, they imagine, that first demolishes every maidenhead, and afterwards occasions the menses. When they are at sea in a storm, they fasten papers with mysterious characters to the mast and tackle of the ship, in order to charm the winds.

Childbed women. Lying-in-women they keep continually before a great fire in this hot country for a whole month, in order to purify them; and in the mean time they are almost smoked to death, there being only a hole in the roof to let the smoke out: and at their first sitting up they return thanks to the fire for purifying them; and the meat they treat their friends with on these occasions, is all offered to the fire. They do not suffer their lying-in-women to eat or drink any thing but what is hot.

Philtres. They deal much in philtres and drinks, which occasion very odd effects on the persons they give them to, though there may be very little magic in the case. It is said of the women of Goa also, that they give their husbands such stupifying doses, that they shall take no notice of their gallants: and it is observable, that the Indians will often take bang and opium when they go into engagements, and though at other times they are the most pusillanimous creatures in nature, they will then rush upon the greatest dangers; but after the effect of the opium is off, they grow faint

and spiritless, and greater cowards, if possible, than they were before: and surely there is but little reason to have recourse to supernatural causes in these cases; but, as my author observes, there will never want pretenders as long as there are fools to be imposed upon; and the physicians of Siam never miscarry in their prescriptions, but they impute the misfortune to some malicious spirit. They are very dextrous in abusing the people; one of them made his patient believe he had swallowed a deer-skin whole, and that he voided it by virtue of his medicines.

They have as little skill in musick as in other Musick; sciences; they neither play, or sing by notes; or know what the playing in parts means, and most of their instruments are very harsh and ungrateful to the ear: they beat upon little ill sounding drums, and have a trumpet still worse; they have some shrill hautboys, and a little ugly violin with three strings. They have also brass basons to beat on; and all these sound together when the King goes out, or upon other solemn occasions; and LOUBIERE thinks the noise is not unpleasant on the river.

There are two languages spoken at Siam, namely, the Siamese and the Balie: in the Siamese language there are thirty-seven letters, and in the Balie thirty-three, and these are all consonants; for vowels and diphthongs, of which there are a great number in both these languages, they have particular characters; some of which are placed before the consonant, and some after, and others are placed above, or underneath; and these vowels and diphthongs thus variously disposed, are always pronounced after the consonant. If the pronunciation of a syllable begins with a vowel, there is a mute character before it, which supplies the place of a consonant, and must not be pronounced.

The Siamese pronunciation is difficult to imitate; there depends much on the accent, as in China: and, like the Chinese, they seem to sing when they are speaking. LOUBIERE conjectures that they wrote at first without vowels, like the Hebrews, and that they proceeded afterwards to mark the consonants with some strokes foreign to their alphabet, and which are generally placed out of the rank of the letters, like the points which the modern Jews have added to their ancient way of writing.

The Siamese language consists chiefly of monosyllables, without conjugation or declension. The Balie to them is a dead tongue, and known only to the learned. The terms in their religion and laws, the names of offices, and all the ornaments of the Siamese vulgar tongue, are taken from the Balie, and in this language their best songs are composed.

The Siamese have not the art of printing, upon which account they have very few books. Their histories do not ascend very high, and those they have are stuffed with fables, and have very little in them to be depended on.

Their calendar has been twice regulated by able Calendar; astronomers, who have taken two arbitrary epochs for some remarkable conjunction of the planets; the most antient refers to the 545th year before the incarnation of our Saviour; and there is a tradition amongst them that it commences from the time their God Sommona Codom was translated to heaven. Their late epocha commences from the year of our Lord six hundred thirty-eight. These astronomers having established certain

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Language Alphabet.

No printing, or authentic histories.

Calendar; Epochas;

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certain numbers on these observations, have composed a table to find out the place of the planets for the following year, not unlike that by which we find the epoch of every year by adding 11 to the epoch of the foregoing.

They divide the year into three seasons, viz. the winter, or cold months, which answer to those of our December and January. Their little summer, or the beginning of heat, which is their spring, and answers to February, March, and April. And their great summer, or the time of their great heats, which consists of the other seven months, when the heat strips the trees of their leaves, as the cold does ours, according to LOUBIERE: but he must mean this of some particular trees; for there are several ever-greens to be found in this country by his own relation.

Cycle of
sixty
years.

They do not number their years, but count them by the names of a sexagenary cycle, or revolution of sixty years, for which they have particular names. They begin their year the fifth moon of November or December: their months consist for the most part of 30 days, for which they have no names but reckon them in order, viz. first, second, third, and so on. They have no word to express week, but call the seven days by the planets, as in Europe.

No hereditary honours.

There is no distinction of quality here any more than in China; except what is made by a man's being possessed of an office or place in the government and it is not uncommon to see the son or grandson of a minister of state, labouring at the oar.

All officers and magistrates styled Mandarins by writers.

It is observable that the Portuguese give all officers in the eastern part of the world the name of the Mandarins, and by this name writers generally call them, though this is a title unknown in the kingdoms they treat of: the King of Siam never makes a considerable officer or Mandarin, but he bestows a new name upon him, which is always an eulogium. All officers at Siam were originally hereditary, and, as it is said, ought of right to be so still; but very few families long maintain themselves in any office at this day, especially such as are near the court: these the King takes liberty to remove at pleasure; nor are they ever suffered to sell, though they have legally an inheritance in them. From the government of certain provinces being hereditary, LOUBIERE observes that the Portuguese have given the governors the title of Kings, and so made the King of Siam an Emperor over a multitude of petty Kings. The same may be observed in Japan, every Governor of a petty province is styled a King, and for want of a certain definition of this word King, we often frame very odd notions of the governments in the east, making almost as many kingdoms as there are considerable towns. The reader perhaps expects that every one of these kingdoms should be governed by their respective laws; when in truth they are all provinces of the same kingdom, and their laws and customs differ no more than those of one county from another amongst us.

Court of Siam not so magnificent now as formerly.

The court of Siam was antiently more magnificent than it is at present; a great number of Lords richly clothed, usually attended with several hundreds of slaves and elephants; but these are now seen no more; which LOUBIERE ascribes to the cruelty of some late Princes, particularly the father of the King which reigned in 1688, when LOUBIERE was there; who cut off almost all the considerable families, and every one that appeared formidable to him, as well those who had assisted

him in usurping the throne, as those who had opposed him, to secure his possession.

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Allegiance how secured.

When any person enters upon an office, instead of an oath of allegiance to the Prince, one of their priests takes a cup of water, and pronounces certain dreadful imprecations if the person to whom it is given fails in his duty to the King; and this is done by every person that enters into this Prince's service, of what religion or nation soever he be.

Revolutions in Siam.

This kingdom has experienced several revolutions, as we learn from LOUBIERE; the King's father who possessed the throne when he was there was an usurper, and not so much as of the Royal Family: this rebel, he tells us, having dragged his unfortunate Sovereign out of the temple, whither he was fled for refuge, caused him to be declared unworthy of the royal dignity, and afterwards strangled him; not on account of any former misdemeanours, but, as he gave out, because he had deserted his palace and government; when the rebel was at the gates, and upon the point of forcing an entrance.

This usurper reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by his brother, to the exclusion of the usurper's son, who was not then in circumstances to dispute the matter with him, and therefore retired into a cloyster, and took the inviolable habit of a Talapoin upon him, till he found himself in a condition to dispossess his uncle, who was killed by a Portuguese with a musket shot as he fled from the palace on an elephant.

We have an account of another King, who reigned anno 1547, who was poisoned by the Queen his wife, on his return from the wars, to avoid his revenge for the violation of his bed, finding herself with child by her gallant: that this Queen soon after destroyed the King her son in the same manner; and found means to set the crown upon the head of her lover in 1548: but these treasons were not long unrevengeed, for both of them were assassinated in a temple, in January, 1549; and another Prince, brother and uncle to the two former Kings, was taken out of a cloyster and advanced to the throne: from these and other instances LOUBIERE observes, that the crowns of Asia are still more precarious than those of Europe; and this farther observation may be made from hence, that it is oftener the ambition, interest, or revenge of private persons, than any male administration of the Prince, or oppression of the people, that is the real occasion of revolutions, how specious soever the pretended reasons may appear for deposing their lawful Princes.

Cruelty of the usurpers.

That race of the Kings of Siam which lately usurped the throne, are not less barbarous, it seems, to their own families than to strangers; they sometimes starve their relations, or put them to other unbloody deaths, making no conscience of spilling the royal blood; sometimes, indeed, they are so merciful that they only burn their eyes out, or cripple them, to prevent their aspiring to the throne; and the Kings of Asia, in general, 'tis observed, maintain their authority by rendering themselves terrible to their subjects, never so much as attempting to gain their affections, and consequently live in a perpetual fear and distrust of all about them; and the firing of a gun, though by accident, in the hearing of the King of Siam is a capital crime. The King formerly used to shew himself to the people in all his splendor four or five times a year: he also performed the ceremony of plowing or breaking up the ground annually, and of commanding the

CHAP. VI. the river to return to its channel after the rains; but these are now both performed by a commissioner deputed for those purposes.

King shews himself twice a year. He shews himself now but twice a year in his metropolis, when he distributes his alms to the Talapoins: when he goes abroad, he is either carried upon his elephant or in a chair, and very seldom on horse-back, though he keeps 2000 in his stables: great care is taken that he be never seen on foot, and therefore he comes immediately out of his apartment, either from some terrace, or a window of a proper height to seat himself on his elephant, and is not lifted up upon him: the King's seat on his elephant has no covering, and is open before; and when he stands still, a footman shelters him from the sun with an high umbrella: the person who guides the elephant sits upon his neck, and has an iron instrument with which he governs the beast by pricking him on the head; but tho' this Prince appears but seldom in the city, he frequently hunts at Louvo; and on these occasions his concubines, 'tis said, run on foot by him: there is a guard also of two or three hundred men who march before him, and drive all people out of the way; and if the Prince stops at any time, all the company immediately prostrate themselves.

Time of holding councils. The councils of state are held twice a day, viz. at 10 in the morning and 10 in the evening; their day is divided into 24 hours, as in Europe: they have four watches for the night, the last of which ends at broad day-light; they have no clocks, but as the days are almost of an equal length, they easily know the hour by looking at the sun: in the palace, instead of an hour-glass, they have a hollow copper vessel with a little hole in it, which being set upon the water, lets it in by degrees, till at length it sinks, and then the hour is out; of which in the night, they give notice by striking on copper basons.

Water-hour-glass. At their councils, any member who has had a business referred to him by his Majesty reads his instructions, and what he has done upon it; and then the several members deliver their opinion in his Majesty's absence: at another day the King is present, and the debates and resolutions of the former council are reported to him, which having examined, he determines as he sees fit; or if it be a matter of difficulty, orders it to be re-committed and considered of again; and sometimes he consults the superior of the Talapoins, or the highest orders of priests.

Advice punished if it does not please. He often punishes those who give him, what he deems, ill advice; and therefore his ministers offer such opinions as may please rather than declare their own.

He examines his officers frequently concerning their proficiency in the learned or basie language, and concerning the precepts enjoined them by their religion; and punishes the ignorant with the bastinado.

Great officers never visit. It is an established rule in this kingdom, that no officer presume to come into his Majesty's presence without leave; nay, the great officers are not allowed to visit one another but at weddings and funerals; and then they are obliged to speak aloud, and in the presence of a third person, to prevent all consultations against the state; and every one is obliged to turn informer upon pain of death, if he hears any thing that may endanger the government: numbers of spies also there are, to inform the Prince of what is spoken in all companies.

CHAP. VI. On the other hand it is dangerous, being the bringer of ill news, or to let his Majesty know the weakness of his government; nor dare any officer tell him, it is impossible to execute what he commands, but they do what they can, and endeavour to excuse the miscarriages afterwards: and when there is a necessity of acquainting the King with ill news, they do it gradually, and in as soft terms as possible; for he seldom fails to punish whoever offends him, with the extremest rigour; and where the proofs are doubtful, will sometimes order both the informer and the party accused, to be thrown to the tygers in his presence, and insult over their dead carcasses.

A man is no sooner charged with a crime, but he is looked upon to be guilty, of which we have some instances nearer home, where it has been held sufficient to convict a man that he is thought guilty by his judges, though there has been no evidence of the fact.

The common people are in many respects much happier, under this government, than their superiors; the less a man is known to the Prince, and the greater distance he is from court, the greater security he enjoys: ambition leads to danger and slavery here, as in most other courts, not only through the caprice or inconstancy of the Prince, but upon account of that encouragement that is given to all persons to turn informers.

The ministry, indeed, use all artifice to prevent any accusation reaching the Prince's ear; but still many instances there are of officers disgraced for very slight offences.

LOUBIERE observes that these eastern Princes are ever in danger of being deposed, having none of their immediate dependants they can confide in; and the people having no security for their properties, never concern themselves much about the title or fortune of their Sovereign; they know they shall be but beasts of burthen whoever governs; and accordingly submit to any one who possesses the regal power. Those who are taken prisoners by the King of Pegu, he observes, contentedly cultivate the lands he gives them, within twenty miles of their own country, never endeavouring to make their escape back to Siam: and tho' they are there taught to look upon their Princes as the sons of heaven, and imagine they have souls as much exalted above the vulgar, as their condition exceeds theirs, yet if a subject usurps the crown, they have the same opinion of the usurper they had of their Prince, and question if heaven have not adopted the rebel in his room.

The King of Siam takes the same liberty of appointing which of his sons shall succeed him, whether the issue of wife or concubine, as the Emperor of China does.

Revenue. The revenues of the King of Siam arise as well from lands as goods: he has a quarter of a tical, or 9 d. per annum for every 40 fathom square of all cultivated lands he lets out to his subjects; but this the hereditary governors of the provinces divide with him: he receives also one tical per annum of each boat, for every fathom it is in length; and he has not only the customs on all goods imported and exported, but a certain sum besides for the ship itself, according to its capacity: he lays a duty also on arrack, or spirits made of rice, and an annual tax upon every considerable fruit-tree, such as the durion, orange, mango, coco-trees, and such trees as afford betel, or the arek-nut.

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Demefn lands. His gardens and demefn lands, which he has in moft parts of the kingdom, and are cultivated by his fubjects in the fix months fervice, or by his own flaves, are very confiderable, and fupply the court with provisions.

Prefents. Another part of his revenue may be reckoned, the prefents he receives from his fubjects, and what falls to him upon the death of his officers: the fines and confiscations upon the condemnation of criminals, is another perquifite; the fix months fervice alfo, for which he frequently compounds, is another very confiderable article; for the rich feldom ferve in perfon.

Fines. The King alfo engroffes moft part of the trade of the kingdom to himfelf, and even defends to fell goods by retail in fhops, by his factors.

He fells to his fubjects all their cotton cloths, which is the common wear of that people: he claims all the ore in the mines, which he fells to foreigners: his fubjects are obliged alfo to fell him all their ivory and arek-nut, which he difpofes to foreigners; falt-petre, lead, and fapan, alfo belong to the King, and gunpowder, fulphur, and arms, can only be had at the King's magazines.

He fometimes alfo agrees with the Dutch, to fell them all the fkins and furs the country affords, at a certain price, and thereupon his fubjects are obliged to fell them to him; but brown fugar, fugar-candy, amber-greafe, and fome other commodities, merchants may deal with his fubjects for, without reftRAINT.

His whole revenue in money. The King of Siam's whole revenue, which he receives in money, does not amount to more than fix hundred thoufand crowns; but then what he receives in kind, and by the product of his demefn lands for the provision of the houfhould, and for keeping his flaves, and fuch a vaft number of elephants, is prodigious; and that which faves him a great expence, which other Princes are at, is, that the officers which compofe the civil lift, all maintain themfelves, as well as his troops; and he has the fervice of one half of his fubjects annually for nothing, without being at any charge in maintaining them: befides all this, he levies other taxes for the fupport of Embaffadors, erecting publick buildings, and on other extraordinary occafions.

Extortion of the magiftracy.

The great officers of ftate feem almoft under a neceffity of oppreffing the people in Siam; for they have no falaries, they have only their lodgings, a barge, and fome few moveables allowed them by the crown, with elephants, horfes, buf-faloes, and flaves, fuitable to their rank, and as much land as will keep their families in rice; all which return to the crown again upon the Mandarin's being difplaced: prefents are made them publickly by thofe under their command; and a judge is not punifhed for taking money of the parties, unlefs it can be fhewn he has alfo been guilty of injuftice.

Government.

In every province the Governor has the fole command, both civil and military, and though there be others joined with him, when he fits in a court of juftice, it is only to confult and advife with: he determines all caufes by his fole authority; fo that it is no difficult matter for thofe Governors, who are remote from court, to caft off their allegiance, and fet up for themfelves, as the Governor of Jhor, the moft fouthern province of the peninfula of Malacca, has actually done.

Jhor.

The revolt of the province of Jhor, and others, has induced the King of Siam to difinherit feveral hereditary Governors, and make their govern-

ments temporary. Every hereditary Governor is ftiled Tchaou-Meuang, Tchaou fignifies lord, and Meuang a city, or province, and fometimes a kingdom.

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The Tchaou-Meuang, or hereditary Governor, befides the prefents he receives, has an equal fhare of the rents of all the lands of his province, with the King. 2dly, He has the profits of all penalties incurred, and of all confiscations; and in fome governments has the customs alfo, and claims a right of levying taxes upon extraordinary occafions.

The Pourain, or temporary Governor, has generally a commiffion for three years, and is vefted with the fame honours and authority as the Tchaou-Meuang, but not the fame profits. (If he be appointed only in the abfence of the Tchaou-Meuang, he has half his profits, for no Governor can make a deputy by his own authority.) Where there is no Tchaou-Meuang, the Pourain fhares none of the revenues of the province with the King.

Temporary Go-
vernors.

The province of Patana is allowed to chufe its own Governor, and always elects fome unmarried old woman of one certain family, who governs with the advice of the moft confiderable perfons in the province. This Princefs is frequently ftiled Queen, and once in three years fends two fmall trees, one of gold, and the other of filver, loaded with flowers and fruits, as a tribute to the King of Siam; but pretends to owe him no other fubjection.

The laws of Siam require as unlimited an obedience to parents, as thofe of China, and fubject the children entirely to their jurifdiction; and one who fhould prefume to oppofe and contradict his parents, would be looked on as a monfter. A more than ordinary reverence is paid alfo to aged men; and where any perfon is found guilty of lying to his fuperior, he may be immediately punifhed by him; and the King, it is faid, punifhes it more feverely than any other crime; the reafon whereof may be, that few nations are more addicted to it.

Parents have the
absolute
command
of their
children.Lying cri-
minal.

Theft is fo very fcandalous, that when a perfon is accused of it, none of his friends will interpofe in his behalf; and that which renders it fo extremely infamous, is, that it is fo very eafy to get a livelihood. One day's labour will furnifh a man with provision for many: however, there do not want inftances of robberies and thefts among them, particularly by thofe Siamefe that have been driven into the woods by the tyranny of the government; thefe make frequent excursions, and infect the roads, fo that paffengers do not travel with any great fecurity.

They do not divide their laws into civil and criminal, either becaufe there are very few civil caufes, or becaufe the party who is caft even in a civil matter, is punifhed as a criminal. All their proceedings are in writing; nor is any one fuffered to exhibit a charge againft another without giving fecurity to profecute it, and anfwer the damages if he does not prove the fact againft the perfon accused.

Their pro-
ceedings
in criminal
and civil
caufes.

When a perfon intends to profecute another, he draws up a petition in writing, fetting forth the crime, or grievance, and prefents it to the Nai, or head of the band he belongs to, who tranfmits it to the Governor, and if the complaint appears frivolous and vexatious, the profecutor ought to be punifhed, by the laws of the country; but the magiftrates notwithstanding, encourage all profecutions,

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If the suit proceeds, the Governor refers the charge to his associates to examine, and these again to their Clerks, who make their report to their Masters: these Clerks also examine the witnesses, not in court, but at the witnesses houses, the charge whereof, as well as of all other proceedings in the suit, are borne by the parties; nor are the proceedings in these courts much less chargeable than those in our courts of equity. All matters being prepared for hearing, the parties are first called into court several days, and admonished to agree; but this, it seems, is now no more than matter of form, it never being intended to reconcile them; afterwards the Governors, assessors, or associates, proceed to deliver their opinions in writing: then the Governor appoints a day for all parties to attend, when he comes into court in person, (which is the first time) and the Clerk having read the process, and the opinions of his associates, he examines upon what reasons their opinions are founded, which being explained to him, he proceeds to pass judgment.

I should have taken notice, that the clerks of the associates do not only examine the witnesses, but hear what each party has to say in his behalf, and take it down in writing, and if a person does not care to speak in his own cause, he is allowed any of his relations to speak for him, and supply the place of a counsellor, or advocate: but no relation more remote than a first cousin may perform this office.

Proofs by
fire and
water.

When other proofs are wanting, they have recourse to torture, and several superstitious ways are practised for discovering the truth, not much unlike those of our Saxon ancestors: both the prosecutor and the prisoner are made to walk upon hot burning coals, and he that comes off unhurt, is adjudged to be in the right; and as their feet are callous and hard as horn, 'tis said they often escape burning, especially if they press hard upon the coals; this, 'tis said, stifles the action of the fire, and they have a much better chance to escape than when they tread lightly. Sometimes the proof is made by putting their hands in boiling oil, and in this trial they will also by some peculiar management come off unhurt, 'tis said.

Their proof by water is by diving, and he that remains longest under water, is looked upon as innocent; whereas, among our sots 'tis a sign of guilt to float on the top of the water. To proceed, every man in Siam practises from his youth to familiarize himself to fire and water, and will perform such things as would amaze a stranger, who is not versed in those arts.

By vom-
mits.

Another kind of proof is by vomiting-pills, which their priests administer with severe imprecations; and that party which keeps them in his stomach without vomiting is held innocent. All their proofs are made in the presence of the magistrates and people; even the King himself frequently directs them, where crimes come before him by way of appeal; sometimes he orders both the informer and the prisoner to be thrown to the tigers, and the person that escapes, and the tigers do not seize, is sufficiently justified; but if the tiger seizes neither, they have recourse to some other trials not less absurd; and so in every trial, where both parties come off unhurt. It is amazing with what intrepidity this people will offer themselves to these kinds of proofs, even that of being torn to pieces by tigers; when as Lou-

By wild
beasts.

BIERE observes, they shew so little courage in the face of their enemies.

Appeals are allowed, it seems, from inferior courts to the superior; the President of the tribunal at Siam can reverse a judgment given in any other province; and there is an appeal from him to the King; so that where the parties are rich and able to bear the charge, there is no end of the suit; but the poor are condemned with as little formality as they are in Europe; and where they meet with a potent adversary, innocence is but a very slight protection: judgment of death is never executed in any of the provinces, but by the King's special commission; but the bastinado, and other punishments, on which death frequently ensues, are inflicted by every Governor: but one thing seems peculiar to the Siamese, that he who unjustly possesses himself of another's lands, is deemed no less guilty of robbery than he who robs on the high-way; and the person lawfully evicted, does not only restore the lands, but forfeit the value of them, one half to the party dispossessed and the other to the judge, as all other pains and forfeitures are divided; but then the King has half the Governor's moiety, and where there is not an hereditary Governor, the King has one entire half, and the party grieved the other. There is an officer of the crown in every province, who should be some check upon the Governor, and report to the King what passes in the province, and particularly in the courts of justice; but it seems there is such a general connivance among the officers at each other's extortions, that the people receive very little benefit from his institution: every officer squeezes what he can out of his inferiors, and the Nai, or commander of a band, compels those under him to do double duty, who have nothing to bribe him with; while others who present him handsomely, are entirely excused.

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None put
to death
but by or-
der of the
King.

An unjust
possessor
of lands
deemed a
robber.

Penalties
divided
between
court and
the party
grieved.

General
extor-
tions.

Sometimes criminals are ordered to be trampled to death by elephants; at other times they are tossed by one elephant to another without killing them; for this, 'tis said, the elephants will do upon a sign, they are so extremely tractable.

Punish-
ments.

But their punishments are usually adapted to the crime; one who has been guilty of extortion, or robbing the publick treasure, has melted gold or silver poured down his throat: lying is punished by fowing up the mouth, &c. Beheading also is a punishment used at Siam, and sometimes they suffer death by the bastinado.

They punish little criminals by hanging a heavy pillory-board about their necks for several days; and sometimes a criminal is set into the ground up to the shoulders, and buffeted about the head, which is the highest affront can be put upon a Siamese, especially if it be done by a woman: however, no punishment, 'tis said, is infamous longer than it lasts; but he who has suffered one day, often enters into the highest employments the next, according to the caprice of the Prince; inasmuch, that punishments are sometimes boasted of as an instance of his Majesty's paternal care; officers are frequently punished for the faults of inferior officers under their jurisdiction, as masters of families are for faults committed by their children and dependants.

Every person in Siam is enrolled, that none may escape the personal service he owes his Prince six months in the year: they are divided first into right and left, and these bodies are again subdivided into bands or companies, which have each their

Militia.

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their Nai or Governor: these companies do not consist always of the same number of men, neither does every Nai lead his own men to the war, or to the six months service; but he is obliged to furnish so many men out of his band as the King requires, either for the war or the six months service; and the children are of the same band with the parents: the Talapoins or priests, and women, only are exempted from this service; but these also are enrolled, because the Talapoins may return to a secular life again, and the women, because their children may be of some band, tho' they are not.

It is said to be one of the privileges of a Nai, to lend his soldier money before another man, and pay off his other creditors; and if he become insolvent, the Nai may take him for his slave.

Every commander of a barge has also a certain number of rowers or payageurs under him, who are marked with a hot iron in their wrists; and these their Nai or commander dismisses six months at a time every year, or by single months, as he sees fit.

Figurative
expressions.

The commander of a body of men is generally called by some pompous name, much beyond what his command really is, after the manner of the east; for instance, one who commands five hundred men, shall have the title of Captain of ten thousand; by which they mean no more than that he is a considerable officer: thus when they would describe the beauty, strength, and magnitude of any thing, they frequently do it by a figure, far exceeding the subject they are treating of; and for want of attending to this manner of expression among the Asiatics, no small blunders have been committed in divinity as well as history.

Indian armies why
so numerous.

After we have received these accounts of the Indian Princes enrolling all their subjects in their muster rolls; we need not think it strange that they are able to bring so many hundred thousand men into the field, as our writers tell us: if our Princes were to muster their whole posse, no doubt but their armies would be proportionably large; but what are these undisciplined multitudes at last! a very small number of regular troops will easily disperse them: their numbers only make them more liable to confusion; and the very want of provisions must compel them to return home, if they meet with no other misfortunes.

Elephants.

It is reported, that this Prince maintains ten thousand elephants, but as they are kept in several provinces the better to subsist them, and that it is common to give a certain number for an uncertain, and to magnify and multiply whatever they speak of, much beyond the truth, this account is not to be relied on: besides, it seems incredible that ten thousand animals of this kind should be found in any nation under the sun, especially in a country where great part of it is very improper for the breed of elephants; namely, their low lands, which are covered with water one part of the year.

How the
Siamese
make war.

When the Siamese and those of Pegu are at war, their armies face one another very seldom: they make excursions and carry great numbers of people into slavery, and then retire with all imaginable expedition; and if the armies do meet, they avoid shooting at one another directly, unless in the greatest extremity: if the enemy advances, they fire something short, and then if they meet with their shot, they say the fault is theirs, if any of them are killed or wounded; for the King of Siam's orders are, kill not, when his troops take

the field; by which is meant, they should not fire directly upon the enemy; and whenever the bullets or arrows begin to fly pretty thick, one side or other does not fail to disperse. It is said of a French engineer who served in the King of Siam's army, when the General gave him orders to fire over the enemy, he imagined the General designed to betray his Prince; and that being weary with observing the cautions they gave him, when he could have done what execution he pleased; he went one night alone into the enemy's camp and brought off their General prisoner, which put an end to the war; for which service, the King of Siam promised him great things, but his ministers found means to deprive him of his reward, whereupon he left the country and went into the service of the Great Mogul.

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The forces of the kingdom, as has been observed, consists of such men as owe six months service to their Prince, and serve by turns: the King has besides a guard of eight hundred men at Louvo, who were taught the European discipline by an English serjeant of Fort St George; and four hundred more at Bancoek, which commands the river on which the city of Siam stands; who were first taught to handle their arms by the Chevalier de Fourbin: these the King allows to maintain themselves, and does not require any other service than their remaining in garrison in these places.

Their for-
ces.

The woods and mountains on one side of Siam and the sea on the other, render it pretty secure from invasions; and the rivers and canals that are interspersed through the country, with the annual inundation, make it difficult for an enemy to penetrate far into the country, or to maintain himself long in it: if they cannot resist an enemy they may drown him, at it seems was practised not many years since, when the Peguins invaded Siam with a prodigious army: they do not desire therefore to erect any forts in their country, lest they should be taken and possessed by strangers; and the annual inundation protects them without that hazard.

Their wa-
ters their
best de-
fence.

They have some artillery which the Portuguese cast for them, but no horse, except about two thousand in the King's stables; their armies consist chiefly in elephants, and a naked half armed infantry.

Artillery.

They draw up in three lines, each line consisting of three square battalions; and the General posits himself in the centre of the middle battalion, which is composed of their best troops: the rest of the commanding officers place themselves in the centre of their respective bodies; and where these nine battalions are thought too large, each battalion is again subdivided into lesser bodies: each battalion has sixteen male elephants in the rear, and two she elephants to attend every one of them, without which it would be difficult to govern them.

Their
manner of
drawing
up in bat-
talia.

Their artillery is carried in waggons drawn by oxen or buffaloes, having no carriages for it; with these the fight begins and usually ends; if not, they draw something nearer and make use of their small shot in the manner already observed, but hardly ever come to a close fight; and if there is a necessity of making a stand, they are forced to place officers behind their men, and to threaten them with immediate death if they turn their backs. The Siamese do not, like some other Indians, take opium to inspire them with courage; they will run no such hazards, death they think

C H A P. VI. is equally to be dreaded whether drunk or sober ; and he that drinks to raise his courage, or rather to commit a rash extravagant action, is accessory to his own death.

When the body is broke they fly into the woods, whither the other side is seldom so hardy as to follow them ; and as the armies are very numerous, and consequently find it difficult to sub- sist, the conqueror is soon forced to retreat, and then the vanquished rally again, and perhaps re- turn his visit. The elephants are their greatest strength ; but then as they cannot be managed with bit and bridle as a horse is, when they are wounded they will often turn back upon their masters, and put the whole army into confusion ; and it is almost impossible to make them proof against wild-fire, though they fire short guns up- on their backs, about three foot long, which carry a ball of a pound weight.

Ele-
phants.

Sieges.

They hardly ever heard of a town being taken by storm in this country ; but they will sometimes starve a place, or surprize it when they have a cor- respondence with the treacherous inhabitants ; o- therwise a very slight work will bid defiance to their greatest armies.

Ambassa-
dors.

An Ambassador is regarded no otherwise at Siam, than as a royal messenger ; the letter he carries has much greater honour paid it, than his person : the French Ambassadors observed, that while their King's letter and presents were carried in the body barge, with several others of the same class to attend it, they themselves were carried up the river of Siam in ordinary vessels. The Siamese never send Ambassadors to reside at any court, but only to dispatch some particular busi- ness, which usually relates to trade ; and upon these occasions, they send three, though the first has the direction of the affair, and on his death is succeeded by the second, and the second by the third.

Therecep-
tion of
them.

When a foreign Ambassador arrives at Siam, he must not set forwards towards the court, till the King is apprised of his coming ; and if he is accompanied with Siamese Ambassadors, as the French were, the Siamese Ambassadors go up to court first, and acquaint his Majesty with their arrival : the foreign Ambassadors are lodged and maintained at the King's charge, and are allowed to trade during their stay, but they are not suffered to enter the city, or transact any affairs, till they have had their publick audience, or to continue there after their audience of leave ; and therefore the evening before, the King demands if they have any thing farther to propose : And at the audience of leave, if they are satisfied. All publick audiences are in the metropolis, when the court appears in all its splendor : those audiences which are given at the Louvo, and other places, are ac- counted private audiences, where the guards and attendants are not numerous.

At every audience the King speaks first ; and at those of ceremony, the questions are usually the same : the Ambassador is ordered afterwards to address himself to the Barcalon or Prime Minister. These Princes are not at all pleased with long harangues, and the less said on these publick occa- sions, the greater honour they think is done them ; or rather looking upon an Ambassador as an ordi- nary messenger, they esteem it as a kind of in- sult on their majesty to be detained long by them : however as the French are naturally given to talk, his Majesty could not entirely prevent their Am- bassador's speaking it before him ; and it seems

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he had taken care to dress up his discourse in fi- gures after the eastern way. When he spoke of the King, or Royal Family, he compared them to the sun, moon, and stars ; metaphors very common in this country, whereupon the Ambassador tells us, his Majesty observed he had a mighty flow of words ; but whether the King designed this as a compliment (as the Ambassador imagined) or by way of reproof, may be a question. After the King has spoken to the Ambassador, he is pre- sented with a sabbre, a chain of gold, and a vest, with which he immediately cloaths himself ; and their retinue have sometimes the like presents made them, as those of the French embassy had ; and the King at his garden-house, or *en passant*, would sometimes suffer them to approach him and con- verse with him.

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The people of India, **LOUBIERE** observes, are slow in their resolutions, and will never omit any matters of form ; that they are phlegmatick, hy- pocritical, and insinuating in their speeches, and will often descend to downright cheating : and when the King of Siam's women would flatter him, they do not dwell upon his valour or mag- nificence, but admire his subtle policies, which they declare far exceeds the wisdom of all the Princes of the world.

Temper
of the peo-
ple.

The Portuguese, 'tis observed, always treated the Indians with great distrust and insolence, and the Dutch have followed their example ; and as they are naturally crafty, and born in a state of servitude, this is thought to be the properest way to manage them ; they are ever submissive to those that use them haughtily, and insolent under a gentle administration : the King of Siam observes, that his subjects are of the temper of his apes, who tremble while he has hold of their chain, but dis- own him as soon as he lets it go.

How best
managed.

As trade is what the King of Siam princi- pally regards, and that the business of their em- bassies is only trafficking under an honourable title, there is no addressing this Prince without some considerable presents, for which he testifies the highest value ; if it be any thing to wear, he immediately cloaths himself with it in their presence : if you present him with horses, stables are immediately built to put them in : thus endeavouring to shew his esteem of the present, though the profit is all that is really regarded.

While the presents are in the Ambassador's hands, the King's officers come and take a very exact account of them, and inform themselves of the value and the uses of every the minutest things ; that they may be able fully to answer all questions the King shall demand concerning them, as they pretend ; though the principal design is to discover the true value of them.

But as the eastern Princes esteem it a mighty honour, and even a mark of some subjection, to receive embassies from foreign Princes ; they for the same reason send as few as possible ; and the Emperor of China and the great Mogul send none, looking upon it, that their countries stand in need of no foreign assistance, and the rest of the world are under a necessity of courting them for the riches and produce of their respective Empires. The Siamese Ambassadors are loaded with goods when they are sent abroad, and are the King's factors rather than representatives ; and if they do not give a very good account of the improvement of their talents, are frequently bastinado'd at their return.

Embassies
deemed
too great a
conde-
scension
by some
eastern
Princes.

THE PRESENT STATE OF SIAM.

C H A P.
VII.

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Treats of their religion, temples, and superstition.

A Temple in the Siamese language is called Pihan, but the Portuguese, from the Persian word poutgheda, which signifies a temple of idols, call all Pagan temples, as well as the idols in them, Pagoda's; and thus they are called by the Europeans all over India.

Pagoda.

Cloysters.

Nuns.

Every Siamese temple stands in the middle of a square piece of ground, surrounded with pyramids, and enclosed with a wall; without this wall is another large square which encompasses the former, round which are the cells of the priests and priestesses, which are often very numerous, and these our Missionaries term a convent. These cells are single houses, erected upon bambou pillars at little distances from one another, and the whole is enclosed with a fence of bambou pales. The Talapoineses, or Nuns, are in the same convents with the men, and as they are never admitted till they are of an advanced age, there is no danger apprehended of a criminal correspondence; and in several respects, the constitution of a Pagan convent seems much to be preferred to that of a Catholick cloyster: for first, neither sex is forced into a cloyster against their consents. 2dly, Young girls are not admitted into them at all; and 3dly, Liberty is given to any person to return into the world, when that state of life becomes uneasy to them.

Pupils, and servants in convents

As all the youth are educated by the Talapoins, every one has two or three nuns, or pupils, under his charge, who serve him also while they continue in the convent: there are some nuns that do not go in for education, but live and grow old there, and are a sort of lay-brothers; these pull up the weeds that grow in the gardens, and perform other offices which it would be a sin for the Talapoin himself to be concerned in.

The nuns have one common room in the convent for their school, and there is another answerable to it, whither the people bring their alms on those days the temple is shut; and here the Talapoins assemble and have their conferences.

Sleeples.

The steeple of the Pagoda is a wooden tower, not joined to the temple, but standing by itself, and has a bell in it without a clapper, which they beat upon with wooden hammers instead of ringing it.

Heads of the convent.

Every convent has its head, or master, and the heads of some houses have greater privileges than others, and are called Sancrats, and only these can admit one into the order of Talapoins, and give him the habit; but otherwise these Sancrats have no jurisdiction over any Talapoins, who are not of their respective convents; nor have they any thing to distinguish their convents from others, but some stones planted round the temple, which our Missionaries will have to resemble a mitre, and from thence infer, that episcopacy was once in this country, and that these Sancrats succeeded the ancient Christian Bishops.

The King gives a name to some of the principal Sancrats, with an umbrella, and a chair, and slaves to carry it, tho' the Sancrats never use them but to attend his Majesty.

Life of a Talapoin.

The Talapoins by their institution are obliged to lead holy austere lives, whereby they are thought to atone for the sins of the laity; they are a sort of mendicants, and live on alms; nei-

ther may they eat in common, but every one eats what he begs by himself: they are very hospitable to strangers, and even to Christians who come into their convents, and have lodgings on each side their gate for the entertainment of travellers.

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There are two sorts of Talapoins, one of the woods, the other of cities; those in the woods lead much the severest lives: however, both of them are obliged to celibacy on pain of being burnt, which the King takes care shall be strictly executed; for as they have great privileges, and are exempted from the six months service, it behoves him to see they keep up to the rules of their profession, and that their lives be not destitute of hardships, lest his subjects should moist of them be induced to turn Talapoins, and thereby become useless to the state.

Sometimes therefore he has them examined as to their skill in the Balie language, in which the precepts of their religion are written: and the French Ambassadors tell us, the King had dismissed some thousands for their ignorance, just before they arrived at Siam, who were examined by one of his officers of state; but that the Talapoins of the woods would not submit to be examined by any one, but those of their own order.

They do not only educate children, but preach and explain the precepts of their religion to the people in their temples, every new and full moon; and in the time of the inundation, till the waters abate, they preach every day, from six in the morning, till noon, and from one in the afternoon, till five in the evening. The preacher sits cross-legged on a high bench, or couch, and when one is weary, another relieves him; and the people shew their assent to the doctrine by saying, it is so, or this is right, or fit to be done. After which they present their alms to the preacher, many of whom become very rich by the liberality of the people. The time of the inundation, the Europeans call the lent of the Talapoins, for they

Preach to the people.

eat nothing from noon, and when they do not fast, they only eat fruit in the afternoon. It is reported of some of the Indians, that they will fast thirty, or forty days, without taking any thing more than some small liquors with a powder infused in them; but this is certain, that it is much easier fasting in a hot country, than in a cold one; nor are the effects of an empty stomach so pernicious there as here.

Fasts.

The Talapoins of the towns, after rice harvest, go for three weeks together every night to watch in the fields, in little huts made of the branches and leaves of trees, and return in the day-time to their cells: they encamp in a square in much the same order their cells stand in the town, with their superior's cell in the center: they make no fires to fright away the wild beasts, as travellers do every night, the people imagining their sanctity preserves them; but indeed, they take care to pitch their tents at a distance from the woods where wild beasts chiefly haunt; and as for those Talapoins who inhabit the woods, they make fires, as other people do, to keep off the wild beasts; though the people impute their safety to their great holiness. They believe a tyger will smell of a sleeping Talapoin, and only lick his hands and feet; and if the remains of one that has been killed be found, they either deny it to be a Talapoin, or if that cannot be disputed, they say he has transgressed the rules of his order, it being presumed, that even brutes may distinguish a

Watch-ings.

Pretended holiness of the Talapoins.

C H A P. VII. faint from another man by the smell. But after all, as **LOUBIERE** very well observes, their woods are not so dangerous as is pretended, many families of the laity, as well as Talapoins, dwelling in them, whom the rigour of the government has obliged to take refuge there.

Habit of the Talapoins. These Talapoins go bare-foot and bare-headed, but have a linnen cloth round their middles, dyed yellow, which is the royal colour here, as well as in China: they have no muslin shirt, or vest, like the laity, but a yellow linnen cloth thrown over their left shoulder, like a shoulder-belt, and over all, another large yellow cloth, which has its name from the many rags and patches it is composed of; and this hangs down before and behind, and is girt about with a sash of four or five inches broad; they shave the hair of their heads, beards, and eye-brows, and have a broad leaf, or talapat, which they hold by the stalk, and serves them instead of a fan, or umbrella. The superior is forced to shave himself, because no person is worthy to touch his head; and for the same reason a young Talapoin must never shave an old one, but the elder may shave the younger. When a Talapoin grows too old to handle a razor, another may shave him; but then the person who shaves him must ask a thousand pardons first, and declare how unworthy he is of such an honour. (The Siam razors it seems are made of copper.)

Washings. The Talapoins wash themselves early in the morning, when they can just discern the veins of their hands, and do not do it sooner for fear they should drown some insect, and not perceive it. When they are dressed, they go to the temple with their superior, where they spend two hours in chanting their devotions. These hymns, or whatever we call them, are engraved with an iron pencil on those long leaves about two fingers broad already mentioned, in the Balie tongue, and several of these leaves tacked together at one end make a book; but the people have no books to read their prayers and hymns in. The Talapoins sit cross-legg'd while they sing, and keep time with their talapat, or fan, as if they were fanning themselves. Both priests and people, at going in and out of the temple, prostrate themselves three times before the great idol, with their heads to the ground; but while they remain in the temple they all sit cross-legged; so that it seems they express more reverence for their Prince, than their gods, all people lying prostrate in the King's presence, except when they are spoke to.

At the new and full moons the people wash the Talapoins, and in every private family, the children, without regard to sex or age, wash both father and mother, grand-father and grand-mother, naked.

Talapoins beg their food. After their morning devotions, the Talapoins go into the city to beg; they have an iron bowl, or dish, in a linnen bag, which they hang over their shoulders with a rope; they only stand at the gate of a house, but demand nothing; and the people seldom let them go away empty handed. They never go in or out of their convents without prostrating themselves before their superior, and kissing his feet. Their convents have gardens belonging to them, and are endowed with cultivated lands, and they have slaves to manure them; their grounds are also free from taxes, but the Prince has the reversion, or inheritance of them.

The Talapoins at their return out of town eat their breakfast, having first offered it to the idol; then they study till dinner, and sleep, as is usual in hot countries; afterwards they instruct their little pupils, and towards the evening, having swept and cleaned their temple, they spend two hours in singing their devotions, as in the morning, after which they retire to rest, seldom eating any thing but a little fruit. If they have any leisure time in an afternoon; they spend it in walking about the town.

The Talapoins have, besides their slaves, other servants, as has been already observed, which are a kind of lay-brothers, and wear the same habit, only white: these receive the money that is given the Talapoin, it being a sin for the priest himself to touch any of that mammon; and these servants also look after their gardens and husbandry, and transact all such matters, as it is not lawful for a Talapoin to be concerned in.

When the head of a house dies, another is elected by the society, whose age or learning usually recommends him to that post; and when any person builds a temple, he appoints the superior of the convent, but builds no other cells; these are erected as other members are admitted afterwards.

When any one desires to be admitted into a convent, he first applies himself to the head of the house, but receives his habit from some San-crat; none are ever opposed in taking the habit upon them, it being esteemed a great sin to hinder it; their parents are seldom against it, this being the surest way of growing rich; and they are obliged to remain there no longer than they please: their relations therefore hire people to sing and dance before them, when they lead their son to the convent to take the habit; but neither the musick, or the women, are admitted to enter with them: the new religious has his head, beard, and eyebrows shaved, and the San-crat pronounces some pious sentences on his devoting himself to religion; and the new Talapoin is shut up in his convent, and is never to see a dance, or hear musick afterwards.

The Talapoineses are clothed in white, and are deemed partly secular and partly religious: they may receive the habit from any head of a house as well as the young nuns, without leave of a San-crat: if any of them are surprized with a man, they are not burnt as the Talapoins are for entertaining a criminal commerce with women; but the Talapoineses in this case are delivered to their relations to be bastinadoed, for the priest may not strike or chastise any one.

The Indian priests, tho' they all maintain the doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, yet, in many other things they are not agreed; some allow of marriage, others prohibit it; some look upon it to be a sin to deprive any animal of life, others make no scruple of it; and there are a third sort who kill them very seldom, and only for sacrifice: some there are also that will eat any animal if it dies of itself, or is killed to their hands, tho' they would no more put an animal to death themselves than they would murder a man.

There is not any thing in nature, whether animate or inanimate, but the Indians believe it to be informed by a rational soul: the heavens, the earth, fire, water, rivers, woods, mountains, cities, and houses, in their opinion, are all actuated by some spirit or genius; and all of them

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Lay brothers.

Heads of houses elected.

Nuns.

Different rules observed by their priests.

Every thing animated.

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stent state.

them to a man, believe a pre-existent state, or rather, that each man has passed through innumerable states; and that every soul that possesses a human body, was confined to it in order to be punished for misdemeanours committed in some former life. This they think may well be inferred from that just observation, that the happiest mortal is not without his crosses, and that this life therefore is really his hell; and that the highest felicity is found in a state of separation from the body. And some of the Talapoins, the better to strengthen their opinion of the soul's pre-existence, pretend to remember their several transmigrations.

All things
undergo a
dissolution
and revive
again.

The form of the world only, they believe to be eternal; all visible objects they look upon as so many rational beings, who have lived and existed in a former state, and must die and revive again; thus the heavens, the earth, plants, and all things else have their period, and will be succeeded by new heavens and a new earth, &c. and do not scruple to affirm, that they have seen all nature decay, and revive again.

The soul
material,
and retains
the same
substance
and figure
as the bo-
dy.

They do not believe the soul to be a pure spirit, but that it consists of matter so subtle as to be free from touch, and that after death it retains the human figure, and the same solid and liquid substances our bodies are composed of; and that if a person die by a wound given him it may be seen in these aerial bodies, with the blood flowing from it, agreeable to the notions of the ancient Greeks and Romans; but though the soul be material in their opinion, they will not admit that it is perishable, but that it animates some other creature, and knows pain and pleasure according to its demerits, till it enters a human body again; whose circumstances they hold will be suitable to the behaviour of the soul in its several transmigrations.

Degrees of
happiness
and mis-
ery.

They hold also that departed souls do not only animate plants and animals, &c. successively; but that there is also certain spaces beyond the visible world, where they shall be rewarded or punished; that the happy ascend far above the stars, while the miserable are doomed as far beneath; and they usually assign nine different regions both of happiness and misery, every one differing in degree, the highest and lowest being most exquisite in their kind. And as they do not imagine that souls pass immediately from one state to another, but are new-born into whatever place they happen to go; so they believe they stand in need of the same things they did in this life: and for that reason, as the Pagans did of old, in some places they burn their most valuable moveables, and even animals and slaves with them; their wives also in the hither India used to offer themselves to be burnt with their husbands; in hopes to enjoy them in the other world; and, 'tis said, there have not wanted instances there of the husband burning himself with his beloved wife. But LOUBIERE observes, that neither the Chinese or Siamese, or any nation beyond the Ganges, ever permitted the wife to burn herself with her husband; and are so wise, that instead of real furniture and treasure, they burn there only their gilded and painted paper resembling those things; giving out that these are converted into real goods, and tho' the Chinese burn some goods, yet they burn much more in paper.

The rea-
son of it.

But as the Siamese believe they may contribute and administer to the relief of the deceased, so they believe also that the dead are capable of doing them good or hurt; and accordingly pray

to their departed friends, and do them all the honour they can contrive at their funerals, especially to the manes of their ancestors, as high as their great grandfathers; imagining that those beyond have suffered so many transmigrations that they can hear them no more; so that they look upon departed souls to be in such a condition, as to want the assistance of those they have left behind, and yet that they are able to administer to the necessities of their friends below, and punish their neglects. And in this they seem to fall into the same absurdity with the worshippers of departed souls on this side the globe, namely, to pray for, and pray to the same object. But methinks if we are to look upon departed spirits as a kind of inferior deities, they should not want the assistance of their votaries; or, on the other hand, if they stand in need of all the necessities of life themselves, they should not be in a condition to bestow them upon their friends. But what makes this practice of praying to departed souls still more absurd, is, that they suppose them often to be confined to plants and vegetables, and even to inanimate things. In these circumstances they should not, one would think, be able to exert any acts of power. But the eastern nations do not, like our superstitious Europeans, hope or fear any thing from the departed spirits of strangers, but only from those of their own neighbourhood, profession, or family; therefore to these only they address their devotions.

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and for the
dead.Pray only
to their
relations.

They are so far from believing a Providence, that they do not entertain any notion of that Supreme Being which created and sustains all things, according to LOUBIERE: on the contrary, they hold that every man is under a fatal necessity in all his actions; nevertheless they believe that virtue is ever attended with success, and vice with punishments; but how there can be such a thing as virtue or vice, where our actions are determined and nothing is left to choice, is not very easy to discover; for if it is the will or intention that renders every action good or bad, then where there is no choice there can be no such thing as virtue or vice, which our Predestinarians on this side the globe would do well to consider. Where people believe no God, or believe him only the soul of the universe, and that nature proceeds in a certain unalterable course, and is not under the controul or government of any superior being; no wonder they run into a great many absurdities consequent on such a belief; but that those who acknowledge a God infinitely just and good, should make him decree every action of our lives, and lay us under a necessity of committing all manner of crimes, and yet hold that he will punish us everlastingly for complying with his decrees, seems a greater absurdity than any the Indians maintain. Besides, if God's decrees are irrevocable and irresistible, and he has already determined our fate; to what purpose are we advised to repent and amend, and pray to this inexorable being, or deprecate any calamity? To tell us that the means as well as the end are decreed; and yet at the same time, that no means whatever can avail us or have any tendency to promote the end: for that God acts irresistibly and entirely without our concurrence, is to make him decree means that are of no manner of use, and which in this view cannot properly be stiled means. On the contrary, if the means have a tendency to promote the end, then there is something besides the absolute decrees of heaven that promotes our salvation. To proceed; why may not

Every
thing un-
der an
inevitable
fate.Absurdity
of this o-
pinion.

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not a person who believes every action of his life decreed, innocently sit still and neglect all means? for he may say, it was decreed that he should sit still and neglect all means, and consequently can incur no guilt in thus complying with God's decrees. On the other hand, if I use all the means I am directed to, according to these gentlemen, it is because I am under a necessity of using them, and could not have done otherwise; and then why am I to be commended or thought better of than if I neglected them? and yet we see a wide difference made by all the world, between those who take good courses and those that take bad; when, according to this doctrine, the virtue of both are equal.

The usual
answer to
these ob-
jections.

But altho' these consequences cannot be avoided, yet they are thought to be sufficiently answered, by starting difficulties on the other side; say they, if God foresees all events, and has ordained certain causes which he knows will infallibly produce such effects; then may he very well be said to have decreed the effects also, because such causes could have had no other effects.

Reply.

But this argument, if it proves any thing, proves too much; namely, 'that God could not make a free agent, and be omniscient,' which surely no man will affirm; and if God could, he certainly has made us free agents, it resulting so much more to his honour to give us our choice of happiness or misery, as he frequently does in the sacred writings, than to have pronounced a rigorous irreverfible decree, affigning millions of souls to exquisite and everlasting misery, for committing actions (crimes I cannot file them, being under a fatal necessity) which it was not in their power to avoid.

Befides, all the offers of falvation in the Gospel, according to this system, must be rather an insult and banter upon human nature, than that merciful dispensation it is generally apprehended to be: to shew us the way of falvation, to incite and intreat us to accept of happiness; and tell us at the same time, it is not in our power to make any advances even in wish or thought, towards closing with the terms proposed, is surely such a mockery and so insincere a practice as we would not ascribe to a man like our selves, much less to God, whose justice and goodness we acknowledge to be infinite, if we do not flatter him: and to make our Saviour come into the world and die for sinners, he had decreed never to pardon; or make him die for those he had before decreed to pardon, and who, according to this notion, were destined to happiness, and could not resist the grace, if our Saviour had never come into the world, is equally absurd, and makes his sacred blood of very little value. That Indians, who know nothing of God, or, which is the same thing, have no just notions of his attributes, and have never heard of the kind, and let me add sincere, offers of falvation made to mankind, should ascribe every thing to fate or inevitable necessity, is not much to be wondered at; but that we who adore the Divine Goodness for his merciful offers of falvation to mankind, should talk of secret decrees and inevitable fate, whereby they are all defeated, is very absurd; either we have a freedom of choice, or the setting before us life and death, happiness and misery, as the sacred writings do, is a perfect mockery.

Precepts to
be observ-
ed by the
Talapoins.

To return to the religion of the Talapoins: they are prohibited to kill any thing, to steal, commit uncleanness, to lye, or drink intoxicating

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liquors. By the first they understand they are prohibited not only to kill men or animals, but vegetables, and therefore do not destroy the seed of any plant; as for the fruit that does not affect the life, and therefore they think themselves at full liberty to eat it; but then they preserve the kernel or stone, that being the seed; nor will they eat fruit before it is ripe, because then the seed would come nothing. They will not destroy any thing which we deem inanimate, because they imagine every thing is animated, as has been observed, by some spirit or genii, and that in destroying any of them, they dispossess a soul of its habitation; and for that reason they would not cut down a tree upon any account, or break off the branches; but when it is cut down to their hands, or a beast be ready killed, they make no scruple of using or eating them, because they can do no farther mischief thereby. They do think it lawful to open a vein, or make an incision which may let out the blood on any account, looking upon it, that the soul has its residence in the blood; and some Indians carry this so far, that they will not wound a plant to let out the juices. But the Siamese have ways to evade most of the precepts their religion enjoins. Thus in war, they say, they are not the occasion of the death of an enemy, but their enemies themselves, in advancing upon their shot; for they always shoot something short of them, as has been observed. And when the Talapoins eat rice, which is a seed, they do not boil it themselves, because this would kill it, which would be a sin in them; but they make their servants boil it and kill the seed, and then they look upon the eating it to be innocent. They hold it also to be a sin to piss either upon the earth, the fire, or the water, because it might extinguish the fire, or corrupt the other elements; but their servant may pour away the water, and do what mischief of that kind he pleases; and they do not look upon themselves accountable for it.

To proceed; the Talapoins may not hear music, or see plays or dancing; they must use no perfumes, or touch gold or silver, (though 'tis observed they grow rich) or meddle in any matter which does not immediately concern religion. A Talapoin must borrow nothing of a layman, or contract any friendship with him in hopes of alms or presents; nor may he lend upon usury: he must keep no arms, eat or sleep immoderately, sing diverting songs, whistle or play on any instrument, or use any sport or diversion whatever: they are prohibited also to judge or censure their neighbours; to get upon any trees, lest they should injure them, or burn wood: they may not look upon a woman with complacency, or speak to one in private, nor buy or sell any thing; they must not sit by what they beg one day for the next, but give what they do not eat to some animal: they may not till the earth, keep poultry, elephants, horses, buffaloes, hogs, or dogs: they are prohibited to sit near a woman, to speak otherwise than they think, or to covet another's estate: they sin in riding on a horse, elephant, or in a palanquin, or wearing rich clothes or shoes, and in covering their heads, or if they receive any thing from the hand of a woman, and therefore she lays down her alms for the Talapoin to take up: a Talapoin sins if he loves one man better than another; if he eats in gold or silver, or wears any colour but yellow; if they lift up their voice when they laugh; if they boast of their descent or learning, or visit

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any but their fathers, mothers, brothers, or sisters, they sin : if any of them run in the streets, or lift up their cloth above their middle : if they look impudently in any man's face, or return railing for railing ; if they threaten any man, or wrangle, or are angry, or if they enter into the temple with any Talapoin they know is indebted to another, they sin ; they must neither make a fire, nor extinguish it ; they must not eat the flesh of a horse, elephant, serpent, tyger, crocodile, dog, or cat ; they must not beg daily at the same house ; they must not sleep in the same bed with their pupils, or any other : great neatness and modesty is also required of them : when they go to a funeral, the certainty of death, the instability of human affairs, and the like, are to be the subject of their hymns and discourses.

Some consequences of their doctrine of transmigration objected to them.

When they are told, that according to their doctrine of transmigration, murder may be a very innocent thing, because it only delivers the soul from a life it was condemned to by way of punishment : they answer, that a soul is always injured, when it is violently dispossessed, and that it is not released, but condemned to some other body, in the same circumstances, to compleat the intended time it was designed for this life. And, according to this notion, the murdered person receives no great injury neither ; but it is in vain to account for all the absurdities and contradictions to be found in a false religion. We find some sects of idolaters, the Chinese particularly, destroying their children, that they may revive again in a more happy state, and avoid the miseries attending poverty, &c. but if they are to possess a body in exactly the same circumstances, they might as well suffer them to live out their destined time at first, for they would have no advantage by dying, but the trouble of a fruitless removal : and though some of them believe self-murder to be meritorious, and to entitle them to a much happier state upon the next remove ; yet others, we find, who look upon one who murders himself not to deserve the honours of a funeral, and believe the soul of such a one is condemned to wander among the evil genii, or rather becomes one of those malicious spirits, which delight in afflicting mankind.

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The first precept of their religion, prohibiting the killing of any creature, they do not only extend to men and animals, but to plants and seeds, as has been observed. As to their second precept, which prohibits stealing, they do not seem to regard it much. By the third and fourth, concerning impurity and drunkenness, they look upon the married state to be as much prohibited as irregular lust ; and the drinking strong liquor, though never so moderately, to be as criminal as being drunk with it. And indeed their religion requires so high a degree of purity, and abstemiousness, that they do not think it is possible for the profane laity to arrive at that perfection it requires : the Talapoins, the priests, only are supposed to live up to these rules, who by their extraordinary holiness, as themselves give out, make satisfaction for the sins of the people : the righteousness of the priests, it is said, is imputed to them, provided they are not deficient in their alms and offerings to those fathers. But against whom these sins are committed, or to whom satisfaction is to be made, if they believe there is no God to take an account of their actions, I do not understand ; and therefore, though they may worship inferior or subordinate deities, yet

it is not improbable the Popish Missionaries have misrepresented them in this particular, especially since they acknowledge a state of rewards and punishments, and several degrees of each. To proceed,

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As the Talapoins look upon themselves to be holier than the rest of mankind, their pride, it is observed, is answerable to this fond opinion : they seat themselves therefore always above the laity, and disdain to salute any but those of their own cast : it is beneath them also to mourn for the death of a friend, or even of a parent. They confess, it is true, to their superiors, in general terms ; but even this is a declaration rather of their righteousness, than of their sins ; for example, they say, I have neither stolen, or lyed, or drank any strong liquor, &c. And, in short, like the antient and modern Pharisees, boast that they are not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, &c. when indeed they have only found out ways to evade the precepts of their religion, and lull their consciences asleep ; none being more remarkable for covetousness and extortion than themselves.

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It is a sin also, it seems, for these puritans to laugh aloud, or to be seen without an austere cloudy brow ; and answerable to the homage they expect, they are almost deified by the vulgar : in one thing however, their modesty appears, they never pretend to controul the state, or meddle in affairs of government ; and the government, on the other hand, never make rules, or orders, in religious matters, but invariably maintain the privileges of the clergy.

Never meddle with the state, and protected by it.

We have already observed nine degrees of happiness, or misery, which, according to the Siamese, departed souls pass through ; but in all these states it seems they are born and die, and are not yet arrived at their ultimate happiness ; but after several transmigrations, in which a soul has performed a multitude of good works, they believe it may at length merit so far as to be exalted above all mortal states, and, being exempted from any future transmigration, shall enjoy an eternal rest, and be no more liable to pain, or grief, or any calamity whatever. And this is properly the heaven of the Indians ; for though they do expect great happiness in the highest of the nine regions already mentioned, yet they do not hold, that the joys of that state are everlasting, or free from every kind of uneasiness ; but men they hold are born and die in that, as well as other states ; nor do they imagine, that any souls will be eternally punished in the dismal abodes appointed for Hell, the evil genii, but will come upon the stage again, and if they do not merit heaven, will be destined to an eternal transmigration, which is properly the hell of these idolaters.

Heaven of the Indians.

When a person has happily merited heaven, before he is translated thither, (for such a soul is supposed to be incapable of dying any more) they attribute to him an invincible strength of body, and a perfect skill in all sciences, and believe he becomes a most powerful preacher of righteousness to mankind : after which he disappears, or is taken out of their sight, like a spark (as their expression is) which is lost in air : and to the memory of such as these, they dedicate their temples. But the person they suppose who has surpassed all men that ever lived in holiness, and whom therefore they worship with the highest devotion, is SOMMONA CODOM ; SOMMONA signifies a Talapoin of the woods, CODOM was his proper name ;

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and, as has been observed already, virtue, according to them, is only to be found in the order of Talapoins, and chiefly in the Talapoins of the woods. In the opinion of LOUBIERE, the Siamese have no other god, but this SOMMONA CODO, no notion of the great Creator of heaven and earth. But it is difficult to assent to him entirely, because some superior being surely they must acknowledge, who advanced SOMMONA CODO to his supreme felicity, and rewarded his inimitable piety; and perhaps this may be at last the history of the incarnation, mixed and disguised with a great deal of fable, as several other events in the sacred writings certainly have been. For, I think, there is no manner of doubt, that St THOMAS preached the Gospel in Proper India; there being Christians found there, when the Portuguese first came into that country; these Christians still have a tradition of his being there, and shew the place where he was martyred; and these Indian Christians were certainly not the disciples of Rome, for they refused to acknowledge the authority of that Church, and in some instances to comply with it at this day, as shall be observed in speaking of the religion of the Hither India. Now Siam lying but upon the opposite shore, and nothing dividing it from the Hither India, but the bay of Bengal, it is not difficult to suppose, if St THOMAS was martyr'd there, some of his disciples preached the Gospel in the adjacent countries. What seems also to be a confirmation of this opinion, and which LOUBIERE observes, the Missionaries lay a great stress upon, is, that the books of the Talapoins make Maha MARIA, or the Great MARY, (Maha signifying great in the Balie language) to be the mother of SOMMONA CODO, and that he was never conceived after the manner of other mortals, but born of a flower; or, as some explain it, that his mother was impregnated by smelling to a flower. But to these conjectures LOUBIERE answers, that this name MARIA, is as often wrote MANIA, and always pronounced MANIA; and he thinks the Missionaries are too forward in building much upon it. For my part, I shall not take upon me to determine any thing in this matter; possibly there may be some truth mixt with a multitude of falsehoods. There are so many palpable contradictions to be found in Popish legends, and Catholicicks are so apt to stretch in their relations of facts, which have a tendency to promote their religion, and especially such things as may derive any honour to the blessed Virgin, that we ought to use great caution in forming our judgment. Was I sure, that the Talapoins in their books make Maha MARIA, or MANIA, the mother of SOMMONA CODO, and that he was conceived in a miraculous manner; that he was a great preacher of righteousness, and the most perfect man that ever appeared in the world; and that at length he disappeared, and was translated to the supreme felicity: if all these facts are recorded in these books, I confess it would be of some weight with me; tho' I must beg the Missionaries pardon, if what LOUBIERE has given us on this head, is more attended to, than any of their relations, he appearing to have much less superstition, than is generally found amongst them, and not seeming at all addicted to propagate holy cheats: on the contrary, notwithstanding he is a Roman Catholic; he gives so little countenance to the miracles the Missionaries pretend to work in the east; that he has not re-

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lated one of them as I remember: however, he is a Catholic, and his book printed in a country where pious frauds are not altogether banished; and some facts may be inferred in his book which he is not the author of. To conclude, it is no small reproach to the Reformed, that we never send one Protestant Missionary abroad, who may clear up our doubts in these matters. Those who are sent either to the East or West-Indies, under the notion of propagating the Christian faith, are only chaplains to our factories and plantations; and seldom attempt to inform themselves of the religion of the Indians, much less to recommend their own to them. Their numbers also are so small, and they are so little versed in the arts and sciences the Roman Catholic Missionaries are instructed in, that they could do but little good if they attempted it. Indeed they are composed of such of the clergy who could expect little from their merits at home, or some few others whom covetousness has prompted to go abroad, as the speediest way of raising their fortunes; which for that reason they are chiefly intent upon. The great pains the Roman Catholic clergy take in qualifying themselves in arts and sciences, in order to render themselves useful to the people they are to preach to: the indefatigable pains they take in learning the several languages, and the abstemious and austere lives they lead, in order to set themselves upon the level with the Indian priests, must remain an everlasting reproach to all Protestant countries; a prospect of gain carries us to the remotest corners of the earth, but we will not move one step to advance our holy religion. The Dutch indeed, it is said, permit the Popish clergy to instruct their slaves in the mysteries of Christianity; but to the shame of our English merchants, they will hardly suffer a slave to be instructed in the Christian religion, for fear he should presume to think himself of the same species with his master, and consequently, expect to be treated with humanity.

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is not surely insensible, if he regards the distresses of his votaries.

To return, they believe that SOMMONA CODOM, before he entered into this state of bliss, acquired a prodigious strength of body, and had the power of working miracles; that he could enlarge his body to what size he pleased, and then reduce it to so small a point as perfectly to disappear: that he had two principal disciples, one on his right hand and the other on his left, whom they place behind him on their altars; these images being much less than his: he that is placed on the right, is called PRA MOGLA, and that on the left, PRA SCARABOUT; and behind these on the same altar they place other images, which represent the officers of SOMMONA CODOM's palace, and round the galleries of the cloysters adjoining to their temples they have sometimes several other images.

Images on their altars.

They report that PRA MOGLA, at the request of the evil genii, overturned the earth, and took hell fire into the hollow of his hand, endeavouring to extinguish it: and finding himself unable to effect it, prayed to SOMMONA CODOM to extinguish the fire; but he denied him, apprehending that men would abound in wickedness, if the dread of this punishment was removed. But 'tis observable, that whatever power they ascribe to SOMMONA CODOM, they apprehend he exercises it only over the Siamese, and does not connect himself with other nations; and that every kingdom has a particular deity which presides over it. It is farther to be observed, that they do not look upon their SOMMONA CODOM as the person who first instituted their religion, or gave them the above-said precepts; but that he restored and re-established them, after mankind had swerved from those rules which were originally enjoined them.

Siamese have no prejudice to other religions.

The Siamese make no objection to the religion of foreigners, apprehending that every country may have a religion peculiar to it; but it is very difficult to persuade them their own is false. They erect temples to the memory of certain men, whom they believe to have excelled in virtue, and of whom they relate many incredible and ridiculous stories; and these the Portuguese have called the gods of the Indies. But LOUBIERE justly observes, that there is nothing capable of more various senses than the word god; and that it is very wrong to look upon all such as gods, in the sense we retain of the word, to whom an exterior worship is paid: that the Greeks and Romans erected statues to living men, without any design to make them gods: the Siamese do not only erect statues to their living magistrates, but build temples to them, and institute a kind of worship; they prostrate themselves, burn lights and incense before those images at certain set times: and several Christian Princes are approached upon the knee, being the same posture we offer up our devotions to the Deity. From whence he infers, that the exterior worship of the Indians is no proof they believe every thing they worship a god; but that they may still be accounted atheists, or idolaters at best, in paying divine honours to what is not really God. But surely a being they pray to in their distresses, and whom consequently they must acknowledge to be endued with that power, wisdom, and goodness, we ascribe to God, must free them from the reproach of atheism; however their worshipping him under the representation of a senseless image, may render them guilty of ido-

latry: and of which Mr LOUBIERE may find a difficulty in excusing those of his own persuasion, who do much the same thing. CHAP. VII.

From this view of the religion of the Siamese, LOUBIERE advises the Missionaries, who want the gift of miracles, not suddenly to discover to the Indians all the mysteries of the Christian religion, or such doctrines as may give offence: for instance, he would not have them mention the mysteries of the incarnation, and with great caution, preach up the worship of Saints; for with what probability of success, says he, can they bluntly advise them at first to remove SOMMONA CODOM, PRA MOGLA, and PRA SCARABOUT from their altars, and introduce JESUS CHRIST, St PETER, and St PAUL, in their rooms, before they have instructed them in the existence of God the Creator, justly provoked at their impieties? Nor could it be supposed the doctrine of a crucified Saviour would be attended to, till they were made to apprehend that one might be unfortunate and yet innocent. After this, he thinks it would not much offend the Siamese to let them understand that JESUS CHRIST voluntarily suffered death to atone for the sins of men; because they believe that SOMMONA CODOM gave his wife and children to the Talapoins to feed on.

Advice to the Indian Missionaries.

He apprehends it necessary also to observe some moderation, to speak with respect of SOMMONA CODOM, BRAMA, and the rest, to whom the Indians have erected altars; and to admit they may have been great lights in their time, and that they deserve to be honoured, as they have endeavoured to inspire the people with virtuous principles: and not with an imprudent zeal rail at the ignorance of those they would convert, for believing some fables which a succession of ages has conveyed down to them; and of which they are not the authors.

As for their doctrine of transmigration, how false soever it be, it is acknowledged to be attended with some good consequences. The prohibition of meats is a very wholesome advice in India; and the horror of blood it creates, makes them tender of shedding it: and they do not cease to reproach the Europeans for the destroying the lives of so many in battles on very trifling occasions, as often as the French Missionaries cry up the actions of their Grand Monarch.

This doctrine of transmigration also is a great support to the Indians under any calamity, and lessens the dread of their dissolution: being assured they shall at some time revive again in a happier state. And 'tis observed, that the eunuchs, who of all men look upon themselves the most unhappy here, are fondest of this doctrine.

That veneration also which their religion teaches them to observe towards their parents and governors, is highly commendable, and tends much to the quiet of the world. LOUBIERE also advises, that their priests be not treated as impostors and designing persons, for, says he, they deceive only because they are deceived; and as to their requiring alms of the seculars, it is no more than is observed in every country, those who minister at the altar being allowed to live of the altar.

The most effectual way he thinks to prevail on this people to embrace Christianity, supposing miracles are ceased, would be in as soft terms as possible, and as if it were by accident to show them their errors, first in the sciences, especially in mathematicks

THE PRESENT STATE OF SIAM.

CHAP. VII. mathematicks and anatomy, which it would be easy to demonstrate; and if they found themselves in a palpable error in one thing, they would be apt to suspect they might be so in another. Then he advises to change the terms of their worship as little as possible; for instance, to call the true God, Sovereign Lord or King of heaven and earth, or by some appellation, which in the language of their country expresses the highest veneration; but to annex to these names a true notion of the Deity.

The various acceptation of the word God.

The word Gott, which now signifies God among the Germans and Dutch, was antiently the name of Mercury, Vossius observes, who was adored by all nations: nor did the words Theos and Deus among the Greeks and Latins, LOUBIERE supposes, originally signify such a being as we adore for God; but the primitive Christians chose to make use of such names as were in use in the countries where they preached, which came nearest to the things they treated of.

But what LOUBIERE urges, as the most necessary qualification of a Missionary is, that he conform himself as much as he possibly can with innocence, to the manners of the people in his diet, lodging, &c. and instances in the success a certain Father had by observing this method in Madura: he lived like a bramin of the woods, he tells us, went with his head and feet bare, and his body almost naked, imitated them in their abstemious way of living, and by this method is said to have converted several thousands: above all things, there must appear no design of raising a fortune or growing rich at their expence. And as the Indians do not seem to have any prejudice to any particular religion, LOUBIERE is of opinion, they would have been enamoured with the beauties of Christianity long ago, had not the avarice, ambition, injustice, treachery, and tyranny of some European nations, in the Indies, contradicted their doctrine, as to raise in the Indians a just abhorrence of their persons. To which may be added, the dissolute and profligate lives of most Christians who visit that coast.

The reason why Christianity is not embraced in India.

CHAP. VIII.

Treats of their marriages, women, children, slaves, and funeral rites.

CHAP. VIII. **M**ARRIAGE. WHEN a person designs to marry his son into any family, he employs some women to propose it to her relations; and if the proposal be accepted, the nativity of the young fellow and his mistress is calculated by some pretended conjurer; they consult him also to know if it is like to prove a happy match, but principally whether the family they marry into is rich; for the tyranny of the government is such, that every man is forced to conceal his wealth. Upon the answer of the cunning man, both sides form their resolutions: when the old folks are agreed, the young fellow is allowed to visit his mistress three times, and make her some small present of betel or fruit: at the third visit the relations are present, and the lady's portion is paid down: and now the marriage is looked upon to be compleat, and the new married couple have presents made them by their friends.

No religious ceremony till after consummation.

They proceed soon after to consummation, without performing any religious ceremony; for the Talapoins are by their law prohibited to be pre-

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sent at these solemnities: some days after indeed they go to the house where the wedding is held, and sprinkle the married couple with holy water, and repeat some prayers for their happiness.

CHAP. VIII.

The wedding is attended with mirth and feasting, as in other parts of the world, and persons are hired to dance and divert the company; but neither the married couple or their relations ever dance on these occasions. The entertainment is made at the bride's father's, where the bridegroom builds an apartment on purpose, which is soon done after their slight way of building; here the new married couple remain some months, and then go to a settlement of their own.

The ornaments of a Mandarin's daughter at a wedding, is such a coronet or circle of gold as the Mandarin wears on his cap of ceremony: her clothes are also finer than ordinary, and her pendants of greater value; and she has more rings than usual on her fingers. The greatest fortune at Siam does not exceed 5000 crowns; and the man's substance, as near as they can guess, is equal to it. They may have more wives than one; but this liberty is seldom taken, unless by the great men; and that more for state, it is said, than any thing else.

When they have several wives, one is called the chief or great wife, the others are purchased and attendants on her; the children of their inferior wives call their father lord as well as father: the other only call him father.

One wife, the rest slaves.

Marriage in the first degree of consanguinity is prohibited; notwithstanding which the present King, it is said, married his own sister, and having an only daughter by her, afterwards married her; their Princes thinking it beneath them to marry any but their own blood.

Degrees prohibited.

The children of the chief wife only inherit the husband's estate; the children of the inferior wives are accounted slaves, and both they and their children may be sold by the heir.

Children of the chief wife only inherit.

The estates of the Siamese consist for the most part in money and goods; for tho' their lands are said to be hereditary, the King seizes on them when he pleases, even after he has sold them himself, without returning the value; so that few care for enlarging their fields: and they endeavour to conceal their personal estate from the observation of their Prince, who is sometimes as free with that too.

Estates chiefly goods.

Diamonds therefore are mightily valued at Siam, being easily concealed.

The Siamese wives are remarkable for their fidelity to their husbands; jealousy is hardly heard of amongst them; they work for their husbands, and maintain them all the time they are in the King's service; which is not only six months in the year, but sometimes the Prince compels them to remain in his service two or three years together. There is a liberty of divorce allowed; but this is never practised unless among the poor people, when they cannot tell how to live and maintain their families: it is in the man's power only to divorce himself, but he never denies the same liberty to the wife, if she requires it; and though he restores the portion she brought, the children are equally divided between them, unless there is an odd one, which falls to the woman's share; for she takes the first and third, and all the odd numbers, and the husband the rest: after the divorce the parties are at liberty to marry again the very day,

Women faithful and diligent.

Divorces.

C c

if

THE PRESENT STATE OF SIAM.

if they think fit. But tho' these divorces are allowed, they are generally detested by this people.

Power of
the father
and mo-
ther.

The husband is absolute in his family, and may sell his wives and children, except the chief; and the widow has the same power after his death, unless the children of the even number, the selling of whom, the father's relations may oppose. But the father may not kill his wives, or children; all killing of persons, but in their own defence, being contrary to their laws.

Simple
ornica-
tion not
canda-
ous.

It is not reckoned scandalous for unmarried people, who have the disposal of themselves, to lie together; and the women of Pegu, who live at Siam, will offer themselves to foreigners, and continue as faithful to them as their wives while they remain in the place: they are proud of being with child by a white man, and are not the less esteemed by their nation. But the women of Siam, LOUBIERE observes, are too proud easily to admit foreigners to their bed. Our sailors on the contrary tell us, that they are very forward in offering their persons; but possibly our people may not distinguish between the natives of Siam and those of Pegu, who reside there.

Will fur-
render
hemself
to save
their pa-
rents.

Parents are answerable for the faults of their children; and tho' a son charged with any crime has made his escape, if his father or mother, or any of his collateral relations are taken up by the government on his account, he will not fail to surrender himself to indemnify them.

Women
enjoy
their li-
berty.

The women of Siam managing all the trade, enjoy a perfect liberty; but it is said they will not admit of visits from men, and are more jealous of their husband's honour in this particular, than their husbands are of them. The wives of people of quality seldom stir abroad but to the temples, or to make a family visit; this does not proceed from any restraint of the husbands, but they place their glory in their chastity, and therefore are extremely cautious of giving the least colour for scandalous reports. And it is observed of the Indian women, that they had rather their husbands should kill them than suffer them to fall into the hands of their enemies; nor do the husbands regret any thing more than their being taken prisoners.

Cruelty of
the Prince
to the wo-
men that
offend.

But though these fine things may be said of the generality of their women, there do not want instances of ladies who will hazard their honour, and their lives, to gratify a lascivious humour: this indeed principally happens among the wives of the great, or the royal concubines, who are possibly slighted and neglected by their tyrants for some one she-favourite. But however that may be, the Indian Princes seldom fail to punish with the cruelest deaths, such women as are unfaithful to their bed, as they term it; though perhaps the unhappy creatures they have thus imprisoned in their seraglioes, are hardly known to them, and only seek to satisfy that propensity heaven has implanted in them; and to propagate their species in a way which they cannot be ignorant nature designed they should.

The King of Siam however, looks upon it to be in the power of any woman to suppress these desires; and therefore orders such offenders, first to be covered by a horse, and then put to death. One of these unhappy creatures, LOUBIERE gives us an account of, whom the King order'd to be thrown to the tygers, and they refusing to

seize on her, his Majesty offered her a pardon; CHAP. VIII. but she chose this cruel death rather than live any longer under his tyranny: whereupon the tygers were set upon her, and he had the inhumanity to stand and see her torn in pieces. But sure the penances of the seraglio must be great, when these unfortunate wretches choose rather to be devoured by wild beasts than endure them. The King is not altogether so unmerciful to the gallant, it seems; but the bastinado is often held a sufficient atonement for his crime. More fa-
vourable
to the gal-
lant.

If a person of quality's daughter goes astray, she is sold to an officer who has a patent from the King for liberty to prostitute young women; and he has not less than five or six hundred of these ladies under his care. Prosti-
tutes.

None are afraid of marrying on account of poverty, or the having of children; for their relations seldom suffer them to beg: the only beggars, almost, are those who have no relations; and slavery is not so shameful as beggary, even to the families they belong to as well as themselves. Beggars.

Their slaves are employed either in husbandry and gardening, or in some domestick affairs; or rather they are permitted to maintain themselves by their labours, paying their masters annually from 4 ticals to 8 out of their gains, that is, 10 many 3 s. per ann. or thereabouts. Slaves.

A person may become a slave several ways, either he is taken captive in war, becomes so for debt, or may be condemned to slavery for some crime; or, lastly, he may be born a slave; and the children of such who are slaves for debt, born during the slavery, are accounted slaves though their parents pay the debt, and thereby recover liberty afterwards: if the mother be a slave, and the father free, the odd number belongs to her master, and the even to the father, provided this commerce be with consent of the master; otherwise all the children are slaves to the master.

Those who are slaves to the King are constantly employed in his service, and maintained by him; and those who are called freemen, are obliged to spend six months in his Majesty's service yearly, and maintain themselves; but the slaves of particular men are not employed in the King's works, and yet the King never opposes his subjects making themselves slaves, if they are inclined to part with the little liberty they have for a maintenance.

When a Siamese dies, the corps is immediately put into a coffin lackered and gilded; and to prevent any stench, 'tis said, they endeavour to consume the bowels of the deceased with mercury, and have sometimes leaden coffins: they place the coffin upon a bedstead, or table, and it remains in the house till the preparations are made for the funeral, and the head of the family can attend the solemnity: in the mean time they burn perfumes before the corps, and set up lighted tapers. The Talapoins also range themselves round the sides of the room every night, and entertain the family with hymns and discourses suitable to the occasion; for which they are rewarded with money as well as good provision. Funerals.

In the mean time a square spot of ground is enclosed with a bambou pale near some temple; round which are hung the painted and gilded papers which the family make, representing houses, goods, animals, &c. In the middle of the square stands

CHAP. VIII. stands the funeral pile, which, besides other wood, has yellow sanders, lignum-aloes, and other sweet woods in it, according to the ability of the family; and the pile is built of earth as well as wood to a great height.

The corps is always carried to the pile in the morning, with the sound of several kinds of instruments, attended by the family of the deceased, both men and women clothed in white, and with white vails, bewailing themselves all the way, according to custom; after them follow the rest of his friends and relations, and they choose to go in their barges by water, towards the burying-place, as far as they can.

They do not burn the coffin, but take the body out of it, and lay it on the pile: the Talapoins of the convent, sing doleful hymns a quarter of an hour, and then retire; it being a sin for them to be present when the shows and plays are exhibited, as there always are on this occasion, attended with a kind of a festival. The relations notwithstanding do not seem to be moved by them, but continue their lamentations, though there are no hired mourners amongst them.

The Talapoin's servant sets fire to the pile about noon, which having burnt about two hours, the corps is rather scorched than consumed, though it is usually reported to be burnt to ashes; this being thought to derive some honour on the deceased. The painted papers which should have been burnt with the deceased, are generally seized by the Talapoins to be sold at some succeeding funeral, not regarding the occasion the deceased may have for them in the other world. All the company are entertained by the family for three days; who also bestow alms on the Talapoins of the convent where the funeral is

solemnized, and are at the charge of fire-works: CHAP. VIII. but this can be understood only of the funerals of the great. Where a son is not at the death of his father in circumstances to perform all this, if he happens to be advanced afterwards, he will sometimes cause his father's corps to be dug up to make him a noble funeral.

The remains of the corps which is unconsumed, is put into the coffin and buried under one of the pyramids which stand about the temple; and sometimes they also bury with it precious stones and treasure: these pyramids serve instead of tomb-stones; but the Siamese have no epitaphs, and the pyramids are so slightly built that they seldom last above an age. The burying places by the temples are said to be so sacred, that none dare touch the treasure buried there: but LOUBIERE assures us, he has known them borrow files of the Europeans, to cut the great iron bars in two, which secured them.

The Siamese of quality usually build a temple on purpose, near the place they design to be the burying place of the family; and those who cannot be at that expence present some idol to a temple already built: those who are poor bury their parents without being at the charge of a funeral pile; and if they cannot afford to hire the Talapoins to sing the usual burying hymns, as the lowest degree of respect they can pay to their deceased parents, they expose them on a scaffold to be devoured by birds of prey.

Criminals executed by the state, children still-born, women who die in child-bed, those who are guilty of self-murder, and such as come to any untimely end are never buried; such persons being deemed to have drawn the judgments of heaven upon them by their crimes.

Pyramids instead of tomb-stones.

Temples built by the burying places. Next to burying, the being devoured by birds of prey is most desirable.

The unfortunate always esteemed wicked, and denied funeral honours.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ORIENTAL ISLANDS.

CHAP. I.

Contains an account of the first discovery of the Ladrone and Philippine islands by MAGELLANS.

CHAP.
I.

Ladrone
and Phi-
lippine I-
lands dis-
covered by
MAGEL-
LANS.

The Pope
grants all
the we-
stern dis-
coveries to
Spain,
and the
east to
Portugal.

BEFORE we advance any farther westward on the continent, it will be necessary to turn back and take a view of the Oriental Islands we have left behind; and of these the Ladrone and Philippine Islands lie farthest east.

The first European who discovered these islands, was FERDINANDUS MAGELLANES, or MAGELLANS, in his intended voyage round the world, which his ships afterwards performed, tho' he was unfortunately killed in one of them in a skirmish with the natives. This being the first man that attempted to sail round the globe, it may be expected here, we should give some account of his expedition: he was a Portuguese gentleman by birth, and had served his country both in the wars of Africa and the East-Indies, and particularly under ALBUQUERQUE the famous Portuguese General, who reduced GOA and MALACCA to the obedience of that crown: MAGELLANS having had a considerable share in those actions, and finding himself neglected by the government of Portugal, and even denied, as it is said, the small advance of a ducat a month in his pay; left the court of Portugal in disgust, and offered his service to CHARLES V. then Emperor of Germany and King of Spain.

Pope ALEXANDER the Vth, it seems, upon the discovery of America by Columbus, had by his bull, dated the 3d of May, 1493, granted to the King of Spain, his heirs and successors for ever, all the countries and islands discovered and to be discovered, one hundred leagues westward and southward of the Azores and Cape Verd islands. The Portuguese, who had before this time discovered the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, and had obtained a grant of Pope MARTIN the Vth, about the year 1442, of all countries discovered and to be discovered to the south and east of Cape Bajadore, which lies to the western side of Africa, lat. 27 north; looked upon this bull as an encroachment on their former grant, and began to dispute the Spaniards right. However both nations came at length to this agreement, that the line mentioned in the grant to Spain, to be drawn from north to south through the Azores, and Cape Verd islands should be extended 270 leagues farther westward; and that all lands discovered to

the westward of that line should fall to the Spaniards, and the countries towards the east to the Portuguese, and that neither should trade in the others limits. This agreement was made the 7th of June, anno Dom. 1493, and ratified by the King of Spain the 2d of July following, and by the King of Portugal the 27th of February after: and upon this both parties prepared to make farther discoveries, the one to the east and the other to the west. But JOHN King of Portugal dying, anno 1495, King EMANUEL, his successor, in pursuance of his predecessor's design, in the year 1497 fitted out three ships under the command of VASCO DI GAMA, who having doubled the Cape of Good Hope arrived at Callicut on the western side of the continent of India; and returning to Portugal in the year 1499, gave an account of the feasibility of establishing a trade with India by the way of the Cape of Good Hope.

In the year 1500, King EMANUEL fitted out another fleet, consisting of 13 sail and 1500 men, who in going out discovered the continent of Brazil; they afterwards doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at Callicut; but were prevented settling here by the Moors, or Mahometans of Arabia, who had long enjoyed this trade to themselves, and transported the spices and riches of India to Turkey; from whence they had hitherto been conveyed to Europe.

The Portuguese sailed from Callicut to Cochin, being to the southward of Callicut in 10 degrees north latitude, not far from Cape Comorin, the most southern part of the continent of Proper India; and having now got footing in the country, several squadrons of ships were immediately dispatched from Portugal one after another to support their countrymen; so that in a short time great part of the rich merchandize of the Indies, which used to come by the way of Turkey, was transported to Europe by the Portugal fleet.

The Portuguese were no sooner in possession of Malacca, but they discovered the Molucca's or Spice islands; at which time MAGELLANES returning home, and not being rewarded according to his expectations, as has been hinted above, offered his service to the Emperor CHARLES the Vth, proposing to discover a passage to these very Spice islands

CHAP.
I.

First dis-
covery of
the way
to the
East-Ind-
ies by
Cape of
Good
Hope.

Portu-
gueze mo-
nopolize
the Indian
trade.

C H A P. I. islands by sailing westward, which he apprehended would bring them within the Emperor's share, according to the agreement above-mentioned; that all countries which should be discovered westward should belong to Spain, as all the discoveries eastward were to belong to the Portuguese. Thus much seemed necessary to premise, in order to let the reader into the occasion of the first discovery of the Philippines: I proceed now to give a short account of this voyage of MAGLIANES, but defer the relation of the discoveries and acquisitions of the Portuguese on the coasts of Africa and the East Indies, 'till I treat of the Molucca's and Spice islands, so much the desire of all European nations.

FIRST VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, WHEREIN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS WERE DISCOVERED. FERDINANDUS MAGLIANES having suggested to the Emperor the probability of discovering a way to the Spice islands by sailing westward, the Emperor soon hearkened to him, and ordered five ships to be fitted out and manned with three hundred men, of whom thirty were Portuguese; and of this fleet made MAGELLANS Admiral, who set sail from Seville the 10th of August 1519, on the 3d of October following he arrived at Cape Verd on the coast of Africk, which lies within 15 degrees of the equator. He held on his course to the south-west, till he came upon the coast of Brazil in 22 degrees south latitude, where he took in some fresh provisions. The Spaniards who lived to return home again, gave a very extravagant account of the inhabitants of that country, which has since appeared to have little truth in it. They afterwards sailed into the 50th degree of south latitude, where they pretended to meet with a monstrous race of giants, which have never been heard of since; and, among other improbable stories, tell us, that their way of letting blood there, was by chopping a great gash in their arms and legs with a hatchet, instead of using a lancet; and the way of vomiting their patients was, by thrusting an arrow a foot and an half long down their throats. So little credit is to be given to some discoverers, especially where they happen to be people of no judgment, and who have but little regard to truth, as it happened in this case where the commander MAGELLANS and most of the officers died in the voyage, and very few besides the common sailors returned to give an account of the expedition.

STREIGHTS OF MAGELLAN DISCOVERED. From this country of giants and monsters they at length arrived at the entrance of the streights, afterwards called the streights of MAGELLAN, from the Admiral that discovered them. These lie in 52 degrees of south latitude, and are about 100 leagues in length, but of a very uncertain breadth; being in some places several leagues, and in others not above half a league over; the land on both sides uneven and mountainous and covered with snow. The point of land from whence MAGELLANS first discovered the Pacific Ocean, or South-Sea, as it is usually called, was a promontory, which in memory of it he stiled Cape Desiderato; but one of the ships in the company, it seems, thinking there would be now no end of their voyage, left him and returned home: in these streights they found plenty of fresh water, fish, herbs, wood, and very good harbours. They entered the Pacific Ocean Nov. 28, 1520, on which they sailed above three months to the north-west without seeing land, and were put to very great hardships for want of provisions, several of their men dying in the way; but they had the good fortune all the while of a fair wind and a

smooth sea, which are always to be found in this ocean within 30 degrees of the equator, in sailing from the continent of America to the East-Indies: the wind it is observable in those latitudes (as well in other seas as this) constantly attends the sun in his course, at least in the ocean at any great distance from land, except within 2 or 3 degrees of the line, where the winds are found to be variable; otherwise for 30 degrees on each side the line, the wind hardly ever sits westerly at any distance from land. But to return to MAGELLANS, on the 6th of March 1520, having sailed 146 degrees in longitude to the westward, he discovered the islands of Ladrões, or Robbers, as he afterwards called them from the thievish disposition of the people; lying, according to his observation, in about 12 degrees north latitude: here he went ashore and refreshed his men, but the people of the island being very troublesome, he failed in a few days for the Philippines, where, as has been already hinted, he was killed in a skirmish with the natives; having a little before his death received intelligence that the Molucca islands, which he came out in search of, were not far distant: and his ships afterwards pursuing the voyage arrived at Tidore, one of the Molucca's, on the 8th of November 1521. In these islands they were kindly received by the respective Princes, and suffered to build a fort and erect a factory at Tidore: they also left one of their ships which was leaky there to be refitted, which the Portuguese afterwards took as prize, and ruined their factory. The other ships which went out with MAGELLANS returned to Spain about September, 1522. And now the Spaniards by virtue of this western discovery, and the factory they had settled at Tidore, looked upon it that the Spice islands were their property; which the Portuguese, who were the first Europeans that traded thither, thought they had the best right to; and this occasioned mortal feuds between them; till at length the Emperor, in the year 1529, having some pressing occasion for money, mortgaged all his interest in those islands to the Portuguese, for the loan of three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, which he never repaid. But I shall speak more at large of the several nations who have made any pretensions to these islands hereafter, and proceed now to give an account of the reduction of the Philippines to the obedience of the crown of Spain; and of the present state of the Ladrona and Philippine islands.

MAGELLANS was indeed the first discoverer of them, in the year 1521, but there was no progress made by the Spaniards towards the conquest of these islands, until the year 1564, in the reign of PHILIP II. King of Spain; when DON LEWIS DE VALASCO, Viceroy of Mexico, sent MICHAEL LOPEZ DE LAGASPES with a fleet thither, imagining that by planting a colony here, he might establish a trade between Mexico, China, and Japan.

The largest of these islands, and which lies most to the north, is called Luconia; but by the Portuguese, Manila, after the name of the chief town in the island. The people of Luconia, and several of the neighbouring islands, are now under the dominion of the Spaniards; and neither in their religion, manners, or customs, are easily to be distinguished from them: but before I proceed to a more particular description of the Philippines, it will be proper to give some account of the Ladrona islands which lie four hundred leagues to the eastward of them.

C H A P. I. The wind always easterly out at sea in those latitudes which lie near the tropicks.

Ladrona islands discovered.

MAGELLAN'S death.

His ships settle a factory at the Spice islands.

Emperor mortgages his interest in the Spice islands to the Portuguese.

First settlement of the Spaniards in the Philippines.

Luconia.

THE PRESENT STATE OF

CHAP. II.

*Contains a description of the Ladrone Islands.*Ladrone
Islands.

THE Ladrone is a great number of small islands, lying from the latitude of 12 degrees to about 28 north; the principal whereof are, 1. Guam, or Iquana, which lies in the latitude of 13 degrees, 21 min. according to DAMPIER; and is seven thousand three hundred and two miles to the westward of Cape Corientes, in the kingdom of Mexico. 2. Sarpanta, in lat. 14. Buenvista, in lat. 15. Saclpara, in lat. 15. 40. Anatan, in lat. 17. 20. Saragan, in lat. 17. 25. Guagan, in lat. 18. Alamaguam, in lat. 18. 18. Pagon, in lat. 18. 4. The Burning Mountain of Griga, in lat. 19. 33. Tina and Manga, in lat. 20. 45. Urrac, in lat. 20. 55. Isle de Patas, in lat. 25. 30. La Disconocida, in lat. 25. 50. Malabrigo, in lat. 27. 40, &c.

The island of Guam is the most frequented of any of them; the Spaniards have a small fort there mounted with a few iron guns, and garrisoned with thirty or forty soldiers: they have lately given it the name of Maria; it is about twelve leagues long and four broad, lying north and fourth, and is pretty high champain land; at a distance it appears flat and even, but coming near it stands shelving; and the east side, which is much the highest, is fenced with steep rocks, on which the waves continually beat, being driven by the constant trade wind; on this side of the island there is no anchoring. The west side of it is low land, and full of small sandy bays, divided by many rocky points: it has a redish dry soil, but indifferently fruitful in rice, pine-apples, melons, oranges, limes, coco-nuts; and a sort of fruit called by our sailors bread-fruit: the coco-nut trees grow by the sea, on the west side of the island, in large groves of three or four miles in length, and a mile or two over.

Extent.

Soil.
Fruit.Bread-
fruit.

The bread-fruit, DAMPIER mentions, grows on a tree of the bigness of a large apple-tree; it has a spreading head full of branches and dark leaves; the fruit grows on the boughs like apples, and is as big as an ordinary football; it is round, and has a thick tough rind, when the fruit is ripe, it is yellow and soft, and of a sweet taste: the natives eat it instead of bread, they gather it while it is green and hard, and bake it till the rind is scorched black; then scraping off the outside, there remains a tender thin crust: the inside is white and soft like the crumb of a penny loaf, and there is neither stone nor seed in it, but a pure substance like bread; but if it be kept above 24 hours, it eats harsh and choky: it is in season eight months in the year, during which time the natives eat no other sort of bread; travellers observe, this tree is to be found only in the Ladrone or Philippine Islands. They have some rice, but the soil being dry is not very proper for it; nor have they any great plenty of fish: their hog's flesh is excellent meat, being fed with coco-nuts.

Rice.

Fish.

Their per-
sons de-
scribed.

The natives are well shaped, have strong bodies and large limbs; their complexion is tawny, their hair black and long, their eyes small, they have thick lips and white teeth, their visage is something longish, and their countenance stern; but the people notwithstanding are civil and courteous enough, though they had the misfortune to acquire so ill a name upon the first discovery.

They are often troubled with a distemper much like the leprosy; but otherwise the country is pretty healthful, especially in the dry part of the year. In the wet season, which begins in June, and lasts till October, the air is thick and foggy, but the rains are not violent, or lasting: this island lies so far west of the Philippine, or any other country, that the westerly winds seldom reach so far; and when they do, they do not last long.

CHAP.
II.

Seasons.

Boats and
shipping.

These people excel in building boats and other small vessels; they build them sharp at both ends; the bottom is of one piece, made like the bottom of a canoe, which serves instead of a keel, and is 28 foot long; the under part of this keel is made round, but inclining to a wedge; the upper part is almost flat, and has a very small hollow: it is about a foot broad; from hence both sides of the boat are carried up to about five foot high, with plank of five inches broad; but what is most remarkable in these boats is, one side of them is flat, and the other rounding, with a pretty large belly. They are about four or five foot broad aloft, and the mast stands in the middle, with a yard fixt to it; they turn the flat side of the boat to the wind, which is here almost constantly east; and the vessel having a head at each end, they sail with either of them foremost, and need not tack as our vessels do; and they are thought to sail the best of any boats in the world. DAMPIER made trial of one of them, and computed it would sail 24 miles an hour; and says, the people of Guam will sail to another of the Ladrone Islands, 30 leagues distance, and do their business, and return again in less than 12 hours; and that one of these boats being sent express to Manila, which is above 400 leagues, performed the voyage in four days. The tide here never rises above two or three foot.

The natives of this island have neat little houses built with wood, and thatched with palm-tree leaves, and live together in villages by the sea-shore, on the west side of the island, having Spanish priests among them to instruct them in the Christian religion. There were heretofore about three or four hundred Indians on this island; but the natives making an attempt upon the Spanish garrison, which consisted only of thirty or forty soldiers, and the insurrection being suppressed by the Governor, they destroyed their plantations and went away to some other islands, so that there was not above a hundred upon the island when DAMPIER was there; and those that remained were so set against the Spaniards, that they offered to assist the English to take the fort.

Houses.

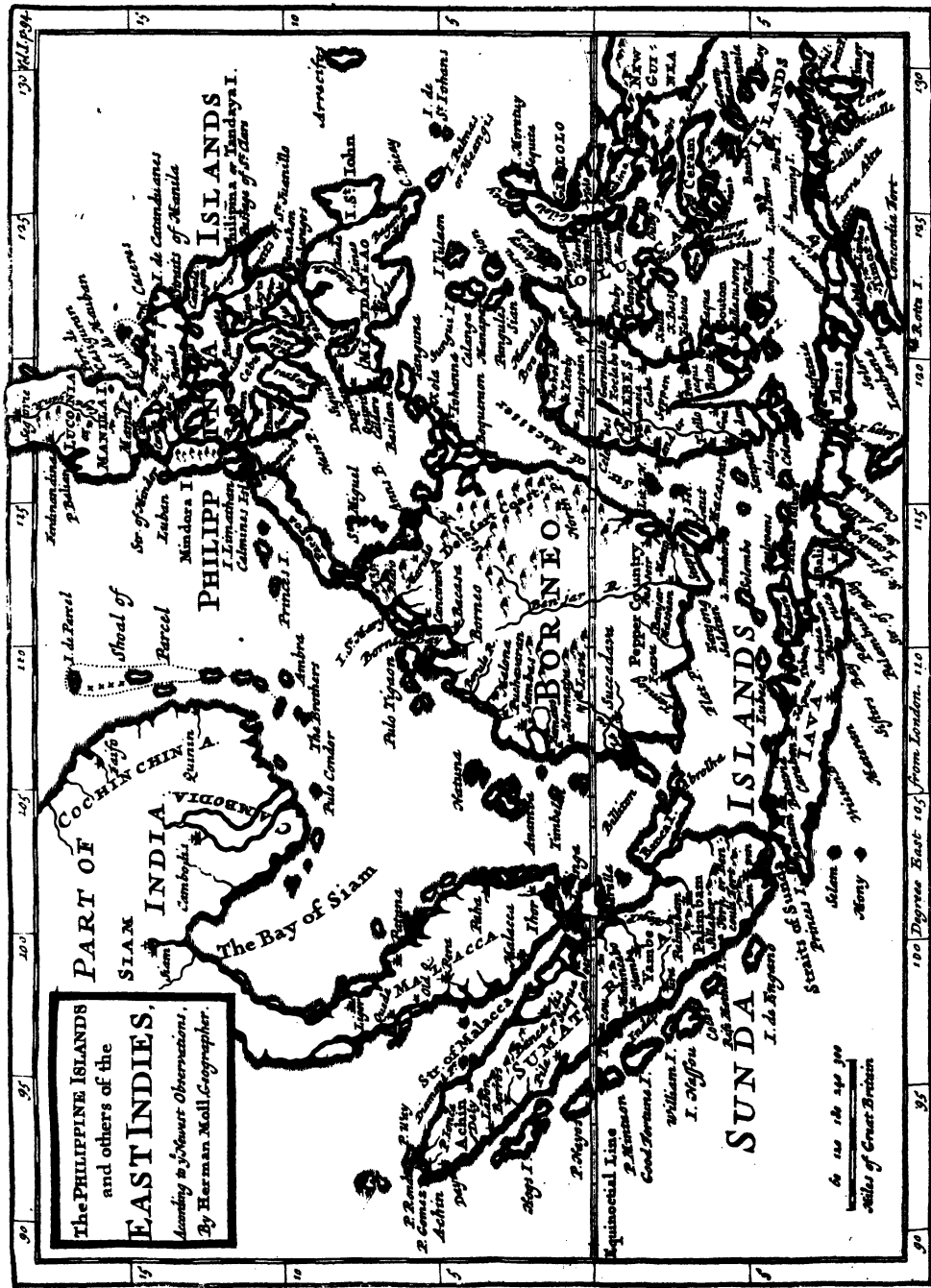
CHAP. III.

Containing an account of the names, situation, and extent of the Philippine Islands in general, and of Mindanao in particular; together with an account of the winds, monsoons, rivers, and harbours, in the said island of Mindanao.

THE Philippines are a great number of islands, some say a thousand; extending from the 5th degree of north latitude to the 19th, and from the 134th degree of longitude to 147th, or thereabouts, according to our present accounts: they lie about four hundred leagues to the west-ward

CHAP.
III.

The PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
and others of the
EAST INDIES,
According to *Natural Observations*,
By *Herman Moll Geographer*.



Scale of Great Britain
to us 10 20 30
miles

CHAP. III. ward of the Ladrões, a hundred and twenty fouth of China, and two hundred east of Cochinchina.

Name. They were called by the Spaniards the Philippine Islands, in honour of Philip II, King of Spain, in whose reign the first European colony was planted there; but by **Ferdinandus Magellans**, the first discoverer, they were called the Archipelago of **St Lazarus**, being discovered on the Saturday before Easter, 1521, which ('tis said) is called **St Lazarus's day**; which I will not answer for, not being versed in popish holidays.

First inhabitants. These islands were probably first peopled from the continent of China, being formerly under the Emperor of China's government; who deserted them, it seems, on account of their being too remote from the rest of his dominions; but their religious rites, as well as several other customs they retained when the Spaniards came thither, shew that the people were of Chinese extraction.

Names of the principal islands. The principal of these islands are **Luconia**, or, as the Portuguese call it, **Manila**, from the chief town in the island. 2. **Tandago**, or **Samar**, sometimes called **Philippina**. 3. **Mabate**. 4. **Mindoro**. 5. **Luban**. 6. **Paragua**. 7. **Panay**. 8. **Leyte**. 9. **Bohol**. 10. **Sibu**, **Zebu**, or **Sogbu**. 11. **Negros**. 12. **St John**. 13. **Xollo**. 14. **Mindanao**. I shall begin with the description of the last.

Situation and extent. The island of **Mindanao** is the biggest of all the Philippines next to **Luconia**, being sixty leagues in length, and forty or fifty over: the south-west part of it lies in about six degrees of north latitude, the north-east part of it in about eight degrees.

Three several people here. This island is not all subject to one Prince, neither is the religion, or language the same in every part of it: most of the people indeed are **Mahometans**, and subject to the Sultan of **Mindanao**, who governs arbitrarily and not by any written laws.

Mindanayans. These are properly **Mindanayans**, and inhabit near the sea coasts, and have the greatest commerce with strangers.

Hilanoons. Those who live in the middle of the country and inhabit the woods and mountains, are called **Hilanoons**: these have rich mines of gold ore, and great plenty of bees-wax, which they exchange with the **Mindanayans** for clothing and other necessaries.

Sologues. The **Sologues** are the least nation which inhabit this island, and are planted at the north-west part of it; they have little commerce with the subjects of the Sultan of **Mindanao**; but trade much to **Manila** and the neighbouring islands.

Harbours and rivers. There are in the island several fine harbours and bays for ships to ride in; and navigable rivers, which as well as their seas, are plentifully stored with fish; particularly **bonetoes**, **cavallies**, **breams**, **mulletts**, **sea-turtle**, or **tortoise**, and small **manatee**.

Climate. The weather in this island is not excessive hot, tho' it lies near the line, being constantly refreshed by sea breezes: the winds blow easterly one part of the year, and westerly the other; those from the east begin in October, but are not settled before the middle of November; this wind is attended with fair weather: the wind begins to come about the west in May, but does not blow steadily from that quarter till the next month, when it brings with it rains and storms; these are chiefly **thunder-showers**, and come against the

wind. At the wind's first veering westward it blows faintly, and there is not more than one or two hurricanes in a day; and after the storm is over, the wind shifts about again to the east, and the sky becomes clear: a little after they come thicker several times in a day, with violent gusts of wind, and loud thunder-claps; at length they come on so thick, that the wind continues in that quarter from whence the hurricanes arise, viz. out of the west, where it remains till October, or November; during which time they have thick cloudy weather, violent rains, and sometimes dreadful thunder and lightning; the largest trees are torn up by the roots, and the rivers overflow their banks, and drown the flat country; and they neither see the sun, or stars, in a week sometimes. The worst weather is about the latter end of July or the beginning of August, when it is very cool and chill. In September both the wind and rain abate, and the air grows clear; but still there are thick fogs every morning, till almost noon, when the sun shines out. In October the wind comes about to the east again, and blows fair till April.

CHAP. IV.

Treats of the buildings at Mindanao; the genius and temper of the people; of their stature, complexion, and habits; and of their food, liquors, and diversions.

THE city of **Mindanao** is the chief town in the island, and lies on the south side of it in about the latitude of 6 degrees north, and stands on the banks of a small river, about two miles from the sea. Their houses, like those of **Siam**, are built on posts, between fourteen and twenty foot above the ground, and have but one floor, which is divided into several rooms, and a ladder to go up to them: they build in this manner for the same reason the **Siamese** do; namely, because their towns are generally in the flat country by the river sides, which annually overflow their banks to a very great height. Their buildings are very slight, the walls and floors being made of split cane, or bambou, and the roofs covered with palm-leave: and the people keeping their ducks and poultry underneath their rooms, and making their dunghills frequently there, they are not exceeding sweet; except in the time of the inundation.

The Sultan's house is very large, standing on 180 great pillars, or trees, and is much higher than the common buildings, with great broad stairs to go up to it: there are twenty iron guns all mounted upon carriages in the first room of the palace, all faker, or minion; and several others of the **grandees** have guns in their houses. Not far from the Sultan's palace, there is a house built on purpose for the reception of **Ambassadors** and merchant strangers, and for the holding their councils in. The floor is neatly matted, because their people sit cross-legged, and use no chairs.

The city of **Mindanao** is about a mile in length, but of no great breadth, and built on the winding banks of a river on the right-hand going up it; and there are some houses upon the opposite shore.

There is not above 10 or 11 foot water on the bar at the mouth of the river **Mindanao**, at a spring tide; so that large ships cannot easily enter the river.

The

CHAP. III.

CHAP. IV.

Situation of the town of Mindanao. Buildings.

Sultan's palace.

People sit cross-legged. City.

Mindanao river.

CHAP.
IV.Genius
and tem-
per.

The Mindanayans are said to be an ingenious witty people, and active enough when they have a mind to it; but for the most part very lazy and thievish, and will not work unless compelled to it by hunger: but our author attributes their want of industry chiefly to the tyranny of the government, which will not suffer them to enjoy the wealth they acquire; and therefore they never endeavour to lay up any thing.

Persons of
the men
described.

The Mindanayan men have small limbs, strait bodies, little heads and oval faces, with small black eyes; their foreheads are flat, their noses short, their mouths large, their lips are red and thin, their hair black and strait, and they black their teeth as in other parts of India: their complexions are tawny, but of a brighter cast than some of their neighbours: they wear their nails to a great length, especially that of the left thumb, which they never cut but scrape, and nourish it with great industry.

Mein.

They have a stately mien, or rather proud and haughty, as some of our travellers interpret it; but they are civil enough to strangers, and entertain them with much freedom, unless they are insulted or injured; and then, it is said, they are implacable in their revenge, which they execute secretly by poison or assassination.

Habits.

They wear a kind of linnen frock or shirt which reaches down almost to their knees, and a pair of drawers, but have neither stockings nor shoes: they have a little cloth or turbant on their heads, which they tie once round; it is fringed at the ends, which hang down.

Persons of
the wo-
men.

The women have long black hair which they tie up in a roll on the hinder part of their heads: their faces are of a rounder figure than the mens, and their complexion something better: their features are pretty just, except their noses which are too small and low, and their foreheads flattish; they appear therefore much better at a distance than when they approach you: they wear a short frock or shift like the men, with the sleeves a great deal larger than their arms, but so strait at the lower end they can hardly get their hands through, so that they sit in wrinkles upon their wrists; they have also a short petticoat or piece of cloth wrapt once about their middles: the better sort of people are clothed in silk and calicoe, but the common people wear the cloth made of the plantain tree: the women have very small feet, but wear neither shoes nor stockings, any more than the men.

Women
not re-
strained of
their li-
berty.

Their women are allowed to converse with foreigners, and entertain them at their houses, but no further familiarities; and there is a custom, when any foreigners arrive at Mindanao, for the men to come on board and enquire if any of the ship's company will have a comrade or a pagally; by a comrade is meant a male friend, and by a pagally a female friend. Every stranger is almost under a necessity of contracting such an acquaintance, and when he comes on shore he is welcomed to his comrade's or pagally's house, where he eats, drinks, and sleeps; but for this his host expects to be paid, and very seldom makes any other present gratis than a little tobacco or betel. The men of the best quality allow their wives the freedom of conversing with their pagallies in publick. They wear rings on their fingers, and bracelets on their wrists, of gold or silver.

Orna-
ments.

Eating.

The common people live chiefly on rice or sago, and small fish: the better sort of people eat buffalo-beef and fowls with their rice, but their

cookery is very indifferent; they use no spoons, but take up a handful of rice out of the dish, which they squeeze together into a hard lump as big as their mouths will hold, and cram themselves with it sometimes till they are almost choked. They wash after their meals, and after touching any thing which they deem unclean: they use therefore a great deal of water in their houses, which, when they have fouled upon any occasion, they pour down through the floor that is made of split bambou like lath; and when people are sick, they have a hole made in the floor instead of a closet-stool, which makes their habitations filthy enough at those times: but healthful people of both sexes constantly go to the river on those occasions, as they do also to bathe their bodies and wash their clothes; and you may see abundance of people in the rivers from morning till night. Both men and women take great delight in swimming and washing themselves, which they use from their infancy, and is reckoned very wholesome in all hot countries; especially where a person is afflicted with the flux.

CHAP.
IV.

Bathing.

They have a pretty strong liquor which they make with rice steeped in water, and with this the natives will be very merry; but when they invite foreigners, they will not drink out of the same vessel for fear they should be defiled by the touch of it.

Liquor.

Upon any solemn occasion, or day of rejoicing, they have women who are bred up for that purpose, who sing and dance before them; but they have no instruments of musick, they do not leap from the ground, or make much use of their feet in dancing; but shew the suppleness of their limbs by the odd postures they twist and screw themselves into, inasmuch that one would hardly believe they have any bones in their flesh. They introduce also a single man at these entertainments, who seems designed to act the part of a hero, he puts on a dreadful look, and having given a shriek or two, strides cross the stage with his lance in one hand and a great broad sword in the other, and having traversed it several times in a menacing manner, he stamps, shakes his head, and throws his lance; after which he draws his crice, and cuts and slashes the air like a madman; at length, having his enemy at mercy, gives two or three blows with his broad sword on the floor, as if he was cutting off his head; then he withdraws, and is succeeded by another, who acts much the same part: and not only their Generals and great men have their share in this mock fight; but the Sultan himself, if he be there, frequently concludes the play; being dressed in armour, as if he were really to encounter some dangerous enemy.

Diver-
sions.No instru-
mental
musick.

They hunt wild cows and buffaloes as they do deer or any other venison, of which they have great plenty; and frequently take their women with them to the sport.

Sports.

Their manner of hunting is, first to inclose a piece of ground with a strong fence, and then drive the game into it; having no dogs, and not much understanding the use of firelocks.

CHAP. V.

Treats of their shipping, trade, manufactures, coin, soil, plants, animals, and minerals.

THEY build very serviceable ships and vessels both for trade and pleasure, and have some ships of war; they trade chiefly to Manila, whi- Trade and shipping of Min-
danao.

CHAP. V. ther they transport gold and bees-wax, and bring back callicoës, muslins, and China silks: they maintain a trade also with the island of Borneo; the Dutch come hither in sloops from Ternate and Tidore, and purchase rice, bees-wax, and tobacco; the last grows more plentifully in this island than in any other island of India except Manila, and is an excellent sort; but the people have not the art of managing it to advantage as the Spaniards do at Manila. Our author imagines that the Spaniards first brought the seeds hither from America; but considering how near these islands lie to the Chinese shore, and that tobacco was cultivated there before any Europeans came into that part of the world, and that these very islands were once under the dominion of the Chinese, it seems much more probable that they had their tobacco from thence, if it did not grow spontaneously in these islands. The Tobacco of Mindanao is of a deeper colour, than that of Manila or Luconia, and the leaf much larger; which is imputed to the fatness of the soil: the Manila tobacco is of a bright yellow, and the leaf of a moderate size, and is not strong, but very pleasant to smoke: the people of Manila by well ordering of their tobacco sell it all over India at a very great price, while that of Mindanao, which is really as good, is sold exceeding cheap, inasmuch, that you have ten or twelve pound of tobacco for a rial there.

Tobacco.

Rate of gold.

Money.

Given to thieving and tricking.

Punishments.

Worms destroy the shipping.

The rate of the Mindanao gold is fourteen Spanish dollars the English ounce, and eighteen dollars the Mindanao ounce; these Spanish dollars are the current coin in all these islands.

The common people of Mindanao are generally thievish, and therefore it behoves the merchant to take care of his effects: nor are their magistrates and great men much better; but will sometimes stop foreigners goods upon very slight pretences; notwithstanding they make great professions of their just dealings: Mr DAMPIER relates, that one Captain GOODLUD having been robbed of some goods by one of the General's men, the fellow fled to the mountains; and being apprehended after GOODLUD was gone, the General brought him bound to Captain SWAN who commanded the ship DAMPIER was in, desiring the Captain to punish him as he saw fit; but the Captain refusing to meddle, the General ordered the criminal to be stripped naked and bound hand and foot to a post, and exposed with his face to the sun from morning till night, which sufficiently punished him; for besides the excessive heat, the musketoes or gnats almost covered his body and stung him unmercifully all the time: after this the General offered to have killed him, if Captain SWAN would have consented to it. And this is a common punishment amongst them, to strip the criminal and expose him to the scorching sun, and sometimes they lay him flat on his back on the hot sands, which a man can hardly bear to set his feet on.

The seas and rivers about this island are so infested with worms, that they will destroy a ship in a very short time; and therefore the natives whenever they come from sea, immediately hale up their ships upon the dry land, as they do their canoes and barges; and never suffer them to lie long in the water. These worms are chiefly in the bays, creeks, and mouths of rivers, or in some places near the shore, being seldom found far out at sea; if they be, they are lodged in the planks while the ship remains on the coast.

COL. I.

The Mindanayans are very apprehensive, that the Dutch, who have reduced several of the neighbouring islands to a state of slavery, will in time invade them, or put a restraint upon their trade at least; and therefore would be very glad if the English would settle a factory there, and defend them from their encroachments: They cannot but observe, as well as all other nations of the east, that the English have never attempted to enslave or oppress any people amongst whom they have settled or traded; while the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Dutch, in their turns, have claimed the property of every country or island wherever they set their foot on shore, although they were at the same time governed by Princes of their own; and there is hardly a considerable island in India, but the Dutch, by force or fraud, have usurped the dominion of some part of it, and deposed the lawful Princes upon various pretences; and wherever they could not pick a quarrel, have fallen upon them while they were in full peace, and usurped the government: several eastern nations are so sensible of these practices, that they will not trade with the Dutch upon any account, or suffer them to come into their dominions: and it is observable of the Dutch, that though no people complained more of oppression in Europe, and made it even a pretence for rebellion, and casting off their allegiance to their lawful Sovereign; that they in a very short time became the greatest tyrants and oppressors that were ever known in the east, or perhaps in any part of the world. And 'tis certain, the Dutch dread nothing more at this day, than that the English should accept of the offer of the Mindanayans and other eastern people to settle amongst them, and renew their claim to Amboyna and other spice islands they were so treacherously deprived of; which I shall say more of, when I come to the Moluccas.

This country towards the middle of it is woody Soil. and mountainous, but has several pleasant valleys, and the staple or vegetable earth is generally a deep black mold, and very fruitful: and tho' the hills are some of them stony, yet they produce all Timber Mines: gold.

The valleys are watered with fine rivers and brooks, and clothed with a great variety of trees and plants, which are green and flourish all the year; but they are most of them unknown to us.

One of these trees is called by the natives the libby, but by Europeans the sago-tree: these trees grow wild in large woods five or six miles in length by the river sides; of the pith of these trees they make sago, which the natives eat instead of bread four or five months in the year. It is not unlike the palm, the bark and wood is hard and thin, but full of white pith, like elder: when they have cut down the tree, and split it in the middle, they scrape out the pith and beat it with a wooden pestle in a mortar, and then strain it through a cloth, pouring in water, which carries all the substance of the pith through the cloth, leaving nothing but a little husk behind: that which is strained through has a settlement at the bottom like mud, which when the water is drawn from it is made into cakes and baked, and proves very good bread.

The sago which is exported into the other parts of the Indies is dried hard in small bits no bigger than seeds, and is commonly eaten with milk of almonds by those who are sick of the bloody flux,

E c

it

CHAP. V. Practices of the Dutch in India.

C H A P. V. it being a great astringent, and very good in that distemper.

There is plenty of rice at Mindanao; and in the hilly ground they plant yams, potatoes, and pumpkins. They have also melons, plantains, bonanoes, guavas, jacks, coco-nuts, and oranges.

Roots and Fruits.

The plantain, according to DAMPIER's palate, is the best of all fruit; but he is the only man perhaps that ever thought it so.

The tree on which it grows is about ten foot high, and three foot in circumference, and is not raised from the seed, but from slips and suckers taken from the old tree, which will bear within twelve months after they are planted in their native soil; but it will be fifteen months if they are removed into other ground: the fruit is no sooner ripe, but the tree decays; but then there are many young shoots which grow up and supply its place: at its first springing out of the ground it has two leaves, and when it is a foot high it has two more between the first, but a little lower, and in a short time after, two others, and so on: by that time it is a month old, the body is almost as big as one's arm; the uppermost leaves are about a foot long, and half a foot broad, and as the tree grows higher, the leaves are larger; when the tree is full grown, the leaves are seven or eight foot long, and a foot and half broad at the bottom, towards the end they are small, and end in a round point; the stalk of the leaf is as big as one's arm, almost round, and about a foot long between the leaf and the body of the tree: when it is full grown, there springs out of the top a strong stem, harder than any other part of the body, about as big and as long as a man's arm, the fruit grows in clusters round it in a cod, about six or seven inches long, and bigger than one's wrist; the cod is soft and yellow when ripe, and the fruit is much of the shape of a Bologna sausage; the pulp in the inside is sweet, and softer than butter, and of much the same colour, melting in the mouth, and has no seed, or stone in it. This fruit will thrive only in a rich soil; they often roast or boil it while it is green, and eat it instead of bread; and the English sometimes will take the pulp of five or six of them and boil in a bag like a pudding. Ripe plantains are also often dried in the sun and preserved, and make a tolerable sweat-meat. This fruit serves many thousands of the natives in the West-Indies for meat and drink: when they make drink with it, they take the pulp of ten or a dozen ripe plantains and mash them together in a tub, into which they pour two gallons of water, and in two hours it will ferment and have a head upon it like wort, and in four hours it will be fit to drink, and then they bottle it, but it will not keep much above twenty-four hours, and therefore those that drink it brew it every morning; it drinks brisk and cool, but is very windy, as the fruit itself is when it is eaten raw, but being boiled, or roasted, has no ill effects. This drink, as it grows four in four and twenty hours, if it be set in the sun it will make very good vinegar: and this fruit does not only afford the natives of the Philippines meat and drink, but serves them also for clothes; and the poor people wear no other cloth.

Cloth.

The tree never bearing fruit but once, they cut it down close to the ground after they have gathered the fruit; which may be done with one blow of a hatchet, the wood which encloses the pith is so thin; having pulled off the bark, they

split the body into four quarters; which being C H A P. V. dried two or three days in the sun, the women divide it with their fingers into small threads, of which they make their cloth; but it is pretty stubborn while it is new, and soon wears out, and when 'tis wetted, feels a little damp and slimy: they make their pieces about seven yards long, the warp and woof being all of the same thickness and substance.

The bonano tree is much like the plantain for shape and bigness, but the fruit is not half so large; it is less luscious, and of a more delicate taste, and is often used in making drink than plantains.

DAMPIER assures us that there are clove-trees Cloves at Mindanao; that he himself saw a ship-load of cloves there, and was assured by the people of the island, that if the English would settle a factory at Mindanao, they might have a ship loaded with cloves every year.

There are some nutmeg-trees also upon this Nutmegs island, as he informs us, which produce a fair large fruit; but, he says, the natives will not cultivate either the cloves, or nutmeg-plants, lest the Dutch should endeavour to bring them under their tyranny, as they have the neighbouring Spice Islands: the Dutch do not only monopolize this merchandize, but send detachments every year to several uninhabited islands to cut down and destroy all the spice trees: and yet, it seems, there are still many islands that have great quantities of spice in them which rot every year upon the ground, because the Dutch will not suffer any other nation to frequent them.

There are almost all sorts of beasts in this island, Animals; as horses, cows, buffaloes, deer, goats, hogs, monkeys, guanoes, lizards, and snakes; and there are a multitude of wild hogs, with great bunches growing over their eyes, in the woods. There are no beasts of prey: but there are several kinds of venomous insects, as scorpions, whose sting Insects; is in their tails, which turn up in a ring upon their backs; and centapes, which are four or five inches long, of a redish colour on the back, and their bellies whitish; these are almost flat, and about the bigness of a goose quill, and are full of feet from head to tail, from whence they have their name; their bite is reckoned more dangerous than the sting of a scorpion; they are found often in old houses, and among dry timber. They have also several kinds of serpents.

It is usual here to have snakes come into their Snakes; houses, and even on ship-board: and our author tells us of one that wound himself about a man's neck when he was asleep, and went away without hurting him.

Of tame fowls, the most common are ducks, Fowls; and hens; they have also wild pigeons, parrots, parakeets, turtle-doves, and abundance of small birds; and bats as big as kites.

C H A P. VI.

Treats of their language, mechanic arts, diseases, religion, women, and superstition,

THEY speak two languages in the city of C H A P. VI. Mindanao, the one being the proper language of the island, and the other the Malayan language; which is spoken in all the Oriental Islands, and in several countries on the continent, as at Malacca, Cambodia, Cochinchina, &c.

VI. Language.

There

CHAP.
VI.

There are several schools in the city of Mindanao, where they teach their children to write and read; and it is observable, that many of their words, especially their devotions, are in Arabic, and their forms of salutation in the language of Turkey. There are also several antient men and women here which speak Spanish, the Spaniards having formerly been in possession of great part of this island, and fortified several places in it; but they were drawn from hence to reinforce their countrymen in the island of Manila, who were threatened with an invasion by the Chinese. The Spaniards were no sooner embarked, but the old Sultan of Mindanao, father of him who reigned in 1680, demolished their forts and took possession of their great guns, and sent the Spanish Missionaries after them; nor have the Spaniards ever been suffered to settle in that part of the island under the dominion of the Sultan of Mindanao since.

Bad accommodations.

The Mindanayans do not understand accounts; and therefore employ the Chinese that live amongst them, when they have any to settle with foreigners.

No clock.

They have no clocks in this country; but they have a great gong, or drum, with one head in their mosques, on which they beat every three hours to give notice of the time of the day.

Mechanick arts and trades.

There are but few handicrafts in the city of Mindanao, the chief trades are the goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and carpenters; of the first there are but two or three, and these keep no shops, but will make any thing you give them a pattern of. The blacksmiths are no ill workmen, considering their tools: their bellows it seems are very unlike ours; they take the trunk of a tree about three foot in length, and having bored it hollow, like a pump, they set it upright on the ground, and on the top of it make their fire; near the lower end of the trunk they bore a hole, in which they place a pipe, through which the wind is driven to the fire by a bunch of feathers fastened to the end of a stick, and their most usual fire is charcoal: they have neither anvil, or vice, but a great stone, or piece of an old gun to hammer upon; and in this manner they do not only make common utensils, but all iron work for ships tolerably well. Every man almost can perform carpenters work, and use the ax and adds; they have no saws, but split all their planks, and then plane them with the ax and adds; and though this requires great labour, yet they work cheap, and the goodness of the plank thus hew'd, having it's grain preserved entire, makes amends for the trouble they are at.

Diseases.

These people are most troubled with a sort of leprosy, or dry scurf, which spreads all over the body, and creates an intolerable itch; so that they are perpetually scratching themselves; and upon some who have had it may be seen broad white spots, which our author supposes to be those places where they have rubbed off the skin: they do not seem to be under any great concern or fear of catching it, and never refrain one another's company upon that account. Their other distempers are the small-pox, fevers, and fluxes, the latter of which occasions great pains and griping in the guts. It is said the country affords plenty of drugs, and medicinal herbs; but I don't find physick is a science here.

As their religion is Mahometism, I shall say little of it here, because it will be described when we come to speak of those great empires upon the

continent, which are of the same faith. The people of the inland country are Pagans; and have received their religion either from China, or India, or perhaps both.

CHAP.
VI.

The people of Mindanao allow themselves several wives and concubines, as other Mahometans do; and the Sultan has about thirty, with whom he chiefly spends his time; but they are not kept up so strictly as in Turkey, but suffered to walk about the streets, and converse with strangers.

Women.

As the religion of the Mahometans prohibits them to eat swine's flesh, the wild hogs multiply prodigiously in this country, and come down from the woods into the towns, and under their very houses in search of food; nor dare the people kill them for fear of being defiled by their touch, but are very glad when the Europeans will do them that favour: and our author says, they are so very superstitious in this matter, that the General having a pair of shoes made him by one of the ship's crew, and understanding that the threads with which they were sowed were pointed with hogs bristles, he made conscience of wearing them, and desired the fellow to make another pair that were not defiled in that manner; nor will they suffer an European to come near them after he has touched hogs flesh.

Superstition.
A day lost by sailing westward.

DAMPIER observes, when he came to Mindanao he had lost a day; for having sailed with the sun, and the Mahometans which inhabited Mindanao coming from the west, Friday, which was their sabbath, was but Thursday in the account that DAMPIER kept. The Spaniards also who inhabit Luconia, or Manila, coming from New Spain, are a day after the Mahometans in Mindanao, or the Portuguese Christians at Macao, who came from the west, and yet Luconia and Mindanao lie almost under the same meridian: and the Spaniards at Luconia observe the sabbath on Monday, (according to the Portuguese account) with the same solemnity that the Portuguese do the day preceding it at Macao.

CHAP. VII.

Treats of the government, revenues and forces of the Sultan of Mindanao, and of their wars and arms.

THE Sultan is absolute in his dominions, but a very poor prince: the hilanoons, or mountaineers, being possessed of all the gold mines, and the country affords very little other merchandize, except sago, rice, tobacco, and bees-wax, which last also comes from the woods and mountains. The tyranny and oppression of the government is another occasion of their poverty and neglect of trade; for if the prince knows that any of his subjects have any treasure by them, he immediately borrows it, and very seldom makes any return. When he goes abroad, he is carried on a couch, or open palanquin, on four mens shoulders, attended by eight or ten of his guards. When he takes his pleasure upon the water, he carries his women with him; and there is an apartment in the middle of the barge large enough for fifty or sixty people. This is built with split cane or bambou, about four foot high, with little windows in it; and the roof is neatly covered with palmeto leaves: this apartment consists of three rooms, one for the prince himself, the floor and sides whereof are matted, and he has a carpet

CHAP.
VII.
Prince his revenues, states, &c.

Barges.

CHAP.
VII.

and pillows to sleep on; the next room is for his women, which is furnished much like the other; and a third there is for the servants who wait upon them with betel and tobacco, for they are for ever chewing the one or smoaking the other: the head and stern of the vessel is for the watermen to sit and row: these vessels have outlayers like the Dutch, and are made with a belly or rounding on each side, and not flat on one side like those of the Ladrone islands.

Govern-
ment.

The Sultan has one great Minister, to whom he commits both his civil and military affairs; natives as well as strangers apply themselves to him for a permission to trade. And as this gentleman is General also of the Sultan's forces, our author observed, that the women when they played before him, made his great actions in the field the subject of their songs; and whenever the Indian Princes call in their players to entertain strangers, as is very usual, their songs and speeches chiefly run upon the valour or wisdom of their Princes and great men, and particularly of those before whom they act, which they will fit and hear without any emotion, or discovering whether they are pleased or displeased, how gross soever the flattery may be: this is a custom very antient, as may be collected from the sacred writings; where we find one of the principal reasons of Saul's enmity to David was, that the women in their dances ascribed to Saul his thousands, and to David his ten thousands slain in the field of battle. But to return to the Sultan of Mindanao, whose wars are chiefly with the mountaineers of the island country: their weapons are a sword and lance, and a crice which they wear in their girdles both in peace and war; this crice is a short dagger, broad towards the hilt with two sharp edges; and has a hilt much like the tines of a pitch-fork reversed, into which they clasp their full hand when they strike. They seldom come to a general engagement; but when the armies are advanced pretty near one another they fall to entrenching, and throwing up redoubts, and pelt one another with their great shot; and thus they will lie two or three months, sending out small parties, and skirmishing every day, and sometimes will surprize a little fort; and as they seldom take prisoners, or give any quarter, if we may believe our author, they will sell their lives as dear as they can.

I shall now proceed to the description of the great island of Luconia, whose metropolis is Manila, the seat of the Spanish Viceroy; from whence that island is usually called Manila.

C H A P VIII.

Contains an account of the situation and extent of the island of Luconia or Manila, and of the buildings and fortifications; with an account of the air, winds, earthquakes, baths, rivers, and lakes in that island.

CHAP.
VIII.Situation
of Manila.

Provinces.

THE island of Luconia or Manila extends from 13 degrees 30 min. to 19 degrees north lat. and is generally resembled to a bended arm, it is in length 160 Spanish leagues; but unequal in breadth, being in some places 20, in some 30, and in others 40 leagues over: that part of the island which is subject to the Spaniards is divided by them into eleven provinces, every one of them subject to an Alcade or Spanish Governor; of these provinces Manila is the chief: the city

which gives name to this province being the seat of the Spanish Viceroy. The city of Manila lies 14 degrees 40 min. north lat. upon a point of land made by a river which issues from the lake of Bahia, and falls into the sea a little lower at the town of Cavite, where there is a spacious harbour, but of difficult entrance because of the rocks and shallows that lie at the mouth of the bay. The city is about two miles in circumference, surrounded with a good wall and ditch; and fortified with bastions and outworks; besides which, there is a fort which stands on the point of land between the sea and the river, and commands the entrance of the river: there are two Alcades or Governors under the Viceroy, one of whom has the command of the Spaniards, and the other of the Chinese or Sangles and other foreign nations.

The principal buildings in Manila are first the cathedral, which is large, but not well adorned within, the walls being black and the altars in no good order: it has in all twelve chapels and altars besides the high altar. The roof is supported by twelve pillars, six on a side.

There are also in Manila several convents and religious houses, churches, chapels, and hospitals, endowed: in the church of Misericordia, dedicated to St ELIZABETH, the orphan daughters of Spaniards and Mustees (half Spanish half Indian) are received, and have a portion of three or four hundred pieces of eight paid for them, and if they choose to be Nuns, they have a suitable annual allowance. The inside of their churches and chapels are exceeding rich, that of St AUGUSTIN's in particular has fifteen well gilt altars, some of them with antipedians of beaten silver; but their structures are most of them wood because of the earthquakes.

The college of Jesuits is very large, adorned with arches, and has spacious dormitories.

This college is of the invocation of St IGNATIUS, and was founded upon the arrival of the first Bishop of Manila in 1581. Adjoining to the same, is the college of St JOSEPH, where are forty collegians studying humanity, philosophy, and divinity; for all degrees are given in it: it has particular revenues besides the King's allowance. The collegians are clothed in purple, and have red cloth gowns; the graduates by way of distinction wear a thing like a collar of the same cloth.

The streets are wide and handsome, having galleries running all along the front of their houses; but the frequent earthquakes have spoiled the regularity of the city, several fine houses and palaces having been overturned by them; for which reason they now build very slightly with wood, above the first floor.

The inhabitants of Manila are a mixture of people, consisting of Spaniards, Chinese, Indians, &c. and their complexions are as different; consisting of black, white, and tawny, it is computed there are about 3000 souls within the walls of the city, and as many more in the Chinese suburb: there are other large suburbs, consisting of several Indian nations who live in houses built on wooden pillars near the river, like the people of Siam; and beyond their suburbs on both sides of the river lie gardens, farms, and country-houses a great way up into the country, which make an agreeable prospect.

The inhabitants of the mountains live under the shelter of great trees, or in little huts they make

C H A P.
VIII.Manila
city.

Cathedral.

Convents,
churches,
and public
buildings.
Orphans.Jesuits
college.

Streets.

Buildings.

Inhabi-
tants of
Manila.Other
buildings.

CHAP. VIII. make of the branches; and when they have eaten up all the fruit and roots round about, remove to some other place.

The air of the Philippine islands is hot and moist, but the heat is not so violent as in some other countries of a more northern latitude, which proceeds not only from the many lakes and rivers which water the country, but from the great rains which fall annually and overflow the low lands: the sea breezes also refresh the air most part of the year, and render the heats very tolerable; but the moisture and dampness occasioned by the rains, and the great dews which fall even in fair weather, make the country very unhealthy to European constitutions, though the natives here live to as great an age as in any other part of the world. The Europeans are very subject to sweating after their meals, and when they are asleep, which occasions an unusual faintness and weakness; but this they are least subject to in the hilly and open country, and therefore the better sort of people retire to their country-houses from the middle of March to the end of June, being the time of their greatest heats. In the months of June, July, and August, and part of September, the west and south winds blow, bringing with them such rains that the fields are all overflowed, and they are forced to go from one place to another in boats; and during this time there are frequent storms and tempests, with terrible thunder and lightning; from October to the middle of December the north wind prevails; and from that time 'till May the east and south-east winds blow, which is the driest as well as the coolest and most healthful part of the year.

Winds or monsoons.

Earth-quakes.

These islands are subject to great earthquakes, which are generally thought to proceed from subterraneous fires, which give a violent motion to several minerals; and having no room to dilate and vent themselves, push forwards with great force against those solid bodies which surround them, and are so shaken, that the motion is communicated to all that is over it, even to the superficies of the earth; and this is confirmed by experience, which shews us that those places are most subject to earthquakes which abound most in minerals and subterraneous fires, as is observed of Campania, Calabria, and Sicily, so famous for burning mountains.

In September, 1627, there was such a terrible earthquake at Manila, that it levelled one of the mountains called Carvallo's; and in the year 1645, a third part of the city of Manila was overthrown, and no less than three thousand souls perished in the ruins: another earthquake, not much less dreadful, happened also the year following; and the old Indians pretend that the island was still more subject to them in former times, which was the reason of building their houses slightly with wood, and not as the Spaniards do now with wood above the first floor.

Burning mountains.

The burning mountains about these islands, 'tis observed, have all those effects that PLINY ascribes to the burning mountains of Italy; namely, that they cast out their flames, shake the earth, driving from them the neighbouring rivers and sea, and scattering their ashes round the country, rendering the very rocks, which sometimes give a report like a cannon.

Hot baths, and rivers. From these subterraneous fires proceeds a great variety of hot baths, and some of their rivers and streams are so hot that they immediately kill any animal that falls into them; but these waters,

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though they are mineral, are as clear and as well tasted as any other, and when they are cool, are reckoned very healthful to drink of: within half a mile of one of these hot rivers there runs another, remarkable for its excessive coldness, which is esteemed as wholesome to drink of as the former.

This country abounds not only in rivers but lakes, as has been observed, the principal of which is the lake of Bahia, not far from the city of Manila, which is about 90 miles in compass; it is long but very narrow, and has great plenty of fish in it. There are also abundance of crocodiles which do much mischief, devouring both men and cattle which come near the banks: not far from this great lake is another small one, upon a mountain, which the natives imagine has no bottom, not being able to fathom it: the water is blackish, and has only some ill tasted fish in it.

There is a spring of hot water in the mountains, petrifying which, 'tis said, petrifies every thing that falls into it, as well animals as other things.

The Spanish fathers report, that when it thunders in these islands, there falls a thunder-bolt in the shape of a cross, being a kind of greenish black stone, to which they ascribe mighty virtues; but some of the more ingenious of them acknowledge that these crosses are made by art, though the fathers frequently make use of them to put holy cheats upon the poor ignorant people under their care.

Lakes

Thunder-bolts.

CHAP. IX.

Treats of the several nations that inhabit these islands; their different complexions, stature, make, and habits; and of their diet, diversions, superstitions, and ceremonies.

THERE may be reckoned four or five different nations or people in these islands.

CHAP. IX.

1. The Blacks who inhabit the woods and mountains, and most inaccessible places. 2. The posterity of the Chinese, who once possessed great part of the sea coasts. 3. The Malayan Moors, or Mahometans, who came from Malacca, Sumatra, Borneo, Macassar, and the neighbouring islands. 4. The Spaniards, Portuguese, and other European people. And, 5thly, the Mestees, or mixt breed, which are a compound of all these.

The several nations which inhabit these islands.

I was formerly of opinion that these islands were first peopled from China, which is the nearest continent; but I find it is the received opinion that the Blacks were the first inhabitants; and this seems highly reasonable, because we find them possessed of all the inland parts of the country, having probably been driven up to the mountains and woods by the other nations which succeeded them, and now possess the sea coasts; but the greatest difficulty is to find how these Blacks came hither, and from what nation, they derived their original.

Blacks the first inhabitants.

From the Blacks of Africa it is plain they are not descended, not only from the distance of that country from this, but because their hair and features are as different as any thing can be. The Blacks or Caffres of Africk having flat noses, thick lips, and short woolly hair; and the Blacks of these islands as regular well proportioned features as any European, with fine long black hair. I should make no scruple therefore to derive this people from those Indians who possess that peninsula

F f

peninsula

CHAP.

IX.

Came
from India,
on this side
Ganges.

peninsula of India which lies on this side the Ganges, because they exactly resemble them in their hair, and features, and are the nearest them of any nation of Blacks upon the Continent; but then it may be demanded if the Philippine Islands were first peopled from India, how comes it to pass that the same Indians did not also people Siam, and Malacca, and the islands of Sumatra, and Borneo, which lie between them and the Philippines? to which it may be answered, that Siam and Malacca and the neighbouring islands were formerly part of the empire of China; and the Indians finding these countries already inhabited, probably passed on to the Philippine Islands, which till then were unpeopled. FATHER GEMELLI CARERI indeed does say, that some few of the Blacks of these islands have short woolly hair, and resemble the Caffres of Africa; but this he seems to have by hear-say, or possibly some few of the African Blacks may have been carried thither in the service of the Spaniards, or some other European nations, and run away to those of the same complexion in the mountains, and mix with them, which may have occasioned that mistake.

And here it naturally falls in our way, to enquire into what it is that is the original occasion of the different features and complexions we meet with in the several parts of the world: but first, it will be necessary rightly to state the facts, before we attempt to draw any inferences from them.

The different
sorts
of Blacks.

And first, it is to be observed, that the Caffres, or Blacks, with flat noses and thick lips, and short woolly hair, are only to be found in the hottest climates of Africk, or in countries as have been peopled from thence; that the only nation of Blacks in the known world besides upon the continent, are the inhabitants of that Peninsula in India, which lies on this side the Ganges above-mentioned: these, at least such of them as inhabit the woods and mountains in the middle of the country, are of as deep a black as those of Africk, but as different from them in their features as the Europeans; their features appearing very just and engaging, though covered with so dark a complexion: they have also long black hair, which is no small addition to their beauty; and shews they are no more descended from the Blacks of Africk than we are.

An en-
quiry into
the cause,
of black
complexi-
ons.
Whether
from the
curse on
CHAM.

Various have been the cause assigned for this difference of complexion, some of our pious commentators have thought it to be the effect of Noah's curse upon his second son CHAM, whose posterity, they tell us, planted Africk; but to this there are several objections made, and 1. It appears that CANAAN, one of the sons of CHAM, possessed the land of Canaan, and those people we have all the reason in the world to believe were never black, any more than they are at this day. 2dly, The inhabitants of the coast of Barbary, which is a great part of Africk, and who are supposed to be the posterity of this cursed son, never were black. And, 3dly, the inhabitants of India, who were said to be the posterity of SHEM, the favourite son, are as black as those of Africk, and, consequently, according to this opinion equally cursed. And lastly, why a black complexion should be looked upon as an effect of God's anger rather than tawny, which at least one half of the world are, is not easy to conceive; that white, our own dear colour, should be looked upon as a mark of God's favour to-

wards us is not to be wondered at, since Providence has taken care that every nation should prefer their own climate, complexion, and situation, as well as sense, to that of their neighbours; and accordingly we find every people representing their own country as a perfect paradise, and despising every other nation, either they want the wit, the beauty, or the courage that themselves are blessed with; but above all they want the honour of being derived from their noble stock; and we are told of some of the black race so partial to themselves, that they represent every thing that is odious, or abominable, to them with a white complexion, which may be fully as reasonable as our Christian commentators representing every man of a dusky complexion, as carrying a mark of God's vengeance in his face as CAIN did.

CHAP.

IX.

There are other gentlemen, who imagine that this dark complexion proceeds from the intense heat of the sun in those countries which lie near the equator; but if this was the reason, then those who are in the same latitude on the continent of America, would be of the same complexion, whereas, there is not one native Black to be found in America, except those born of the Caffre slaves that have been carried thither. To which it has been replied indeed, that the sun passing over the Atlantick Ocean before it comes to America, the air is cooled; and the heats are not so great there as in Africk, or India; but this is an assertion that may well admit of some doubt, and it will probably be found that the *terra firma* of America is as hot as any part of Africk, or India; but to examine a little into the reason of the thing, the ocean called the South-Sea, seems to be of a much larger extent than the Atlantick Ocean; as the sun passes over this, and another very large ocean, meeting only with some islands in its way before it comes to Africk, and, consequently, the air should be much cooler on the eastern coast of Africk, than in Brazil, or *terra firma* in America, if there be any thing in this argument: nor does it seem to be yet settled, whether the black complexion proceeds from the heat of the climate, or from the constitutions of the people. Indeed it must be admitted that Blacks are only to be found within, or near the Tropicks; but then, as has been observed on the continent of America, in the very same climates, there is not one Black to be found; and of all the colonies that have been planted in Africk, or India, where the original inhabitants are black, there is no instance that these foreigners, or their posterity, ever became black, though some of them have been planted there several hundred years; and if the climate had given the complexion, these must have had their skins tinged with the same dye as the original inhabitants; and it is observable, that these very Oriental Islands are peopled with black, and partly with white people, according to the nations from whence they are defended: from all which it may be fairly concluded, that there is some other cause of the difference of complexion, (and features too) than has been hitherto assigned, which I shall enquire farther into when I come to those great continents that are principally inhabited by Blacks.

To proceed, one of the tawny nations which inhabit these islands, like our antient Britons, and Picts, paint and stain their bodies from whence they have obtained the name of Pintadoes: it seems they prick and wound the flesh, making such figures as they see fit, and then rub the

Painted
people.

CHAP.
IX.A nation
with tails.

the part over with a certain powder which gives it the colour.

That there is such a nation of Pintados, or painted people here as the Fathers Missionaries describe, I see no reason to doubt; but what they relate of another people that inhabit some of the mountains; namely, that they have tails half a span long, is not so easily assented to: 'tis true the fathers tell us, they are a brutish people, without religion, or humanity; and therefore seem to have clapt a tail to them, as only fit to herd with their fellow brutes; but this people refusing to submit to the tyranny of the Spaniards, it is well the Fathers did not furnish them with horns as well as a tail, for they frequently represent all people as monsters who oppose them, and indeed great allowances must be made for the prejudices, and sometimes the credulity, of the Fathers Missionaries, who bring home these relations, or we shall run into very gross mistakes: it is, it seems, a great misfortune to be educated in a religion that requires its votaries to believe contradictions and inconsistencies; this fo prepares the man to swallow and digest every monster he meets with, that however he may be qualified to make discoveries in other respects, he must always be read with great caution upon these heads, and as most of our accounts of distant nations come from these Missionaries, it requires no ordinary pains to discover what is to be accepted, and what rejected. Indeed when they proceed to talk of nations that wear tails, or of the leaves of trees, which constantly turn into living creatures every year, it requires no great sagacity to discover the falshood of such relations, which one would think could only be inferred for mirth sake; but where they lie artfully, and there are none of those shocking circumstances in the account, there is no help for being deceived sometimes; but I hope to take such care in the examination of their writings, that this will not happen often.

Stature
and make
of the people.

The natives of these islands are of a middle stature and well shaped, both men and women; nor are the features of any of them, whether black or white, to be found fault with; some of them wear their hair long, others shorter; the Mahometans usually leave but one lock on their heads, and shave close every where else; instead of a cap they tie a cloth about their heads, letting the ends hang down behind. The women tie up their hair in a roll on the hinder part of the head, adorning it with jewels, or something else that makes a glittering shew; and they have also necklaces and ear-rings, with bracelets on their arms and legs, and rings on their fingers: the more civilized who live among the Spaniards, or near them, wear a kind of waistcoat, and a cloth about them which reaches below their knees, and many of them conform entirely to the Spanish fashions. The Blacks, and those who live on the mountains, have only a cloth about their loins, and the meaner sort are generally without shoes or stockings. The Chinese are clothed after the manner of their country, which has been already described, and the Spaniards and Mustees retain their own fashions.

Way of
sitting,
and food.

The natives who inhabit the sea-coasts, sit upon their legs like other Indians, as well at their meals as at other times: their usual food is boiled rice, and fish, seldom eating flesh but at festivals. Their usual liquor is water, which they always drink hot; they have also palm-wine, and toddy, drawn from the palm and coco-trees; and

they distil a spirit from both of them like brandy, or arrack: they have also a liquor called chiliam, being the juice of the sugar cane boiled; they also distil a spirit from rice called arrack.

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Spirit.

The inhabitants of the mountains live chiefly on roots and fruit, and the flesh of wild beasts which they take in hunting, or of any vermin, 'tis said, not applying themselves at all to sowing rice, or any other kind of husbandry.

Food of
the mountain-
tainers.

The Spaniards who keep good tables usually eat flesh at noon, and fish at night: the natives who inhabit the sea coasts, have plays, musick, and dancing, much like the Chinese: in their songs one of them sings a verse, and another repeats it to the sound of a gong, or metal drum: their dancing is in imitation of a fight, but all their motions and actions are regular; sometimes they assault each other with a spear, and then retire very gracefully, and their compositions are said to be elegant enough; but their greatest diversion is cock-fighting.

Diver-
sions.

Musick.

Dancing.

Bathing is very much in use amongst them, which they never neglect neither morning, nor evening; and this is thought to be one reason why they build their houses on the banks of rivers: even lying-in women, and children newly born, 'tis said, are constantly dipt in cold water, not apprehending any inconveniency by it; both men and women are much given to smoke tobacco, and chew betel and arek.

Bathing.

They saluted one another formerly, 'tis said, by pulling off the cloth that is wrapped about their heads; but now they bow their bodies and bend the knee, and joining both hands together lift them to their heads, when they would salute one they have a great respect for.

Saluta-
tions.

They speak in the third person like the Chinese, and seldom use the words I or You; nor do they ever speak to their betters first, but wait till they are spoke to.

Address.

Manila lies so equally between the rich kingdoms of the east and west, that it has been esteemed the best situation for trade in the world, especially when the Molucca Islands were under the same government; then the Spaniards might be said to have the best share of the East as well as West-Indies: hither silver was brought from New Spain, and Peru, diamonds and other precious stones from Golconda, cinnamon from Ceylon, pepper from Sumatra and Java, cloves and nutmegs from the Molucca's, silks from Bengal, camphire from Borneo, benjamin and ivory from Cambogia, silks and China-ware from China; and formerly there came every year from Japan two or three ships freighted with silver, amber, silks, cabinets, and other varnished ware, in exchange for hides, wax, and the fruits of the country: and two vessels sailing yearly to Acapulco in New Spain, loaded with the riches of the east, returned as they do at this day freighted with silver, and make four hundred per cent. profit; nor is there a soil in the world that produces greater plenty of all things necessary for life, as appears by the multitude of inhabitants that are to be found in the woods and mountains, and are subsisted only by the fruits of the earth, and the venison they take.

Advanta-
geous situa-
tion for
trade.

Trade.

Fruitful-
ness.

Populous.

Nor can any country in the world appear more beautiful, there is a perpetual verdure, buds, blossoms, and fruit, are found upon the trees all the year round, as well on the mountains, as gardens that are cultivated.

But to be a little more particular; these islands abound in pearls, amber-grease, cotton, and civet, and

H A P. and are rich in gold mines; and though they are
JX. seldom or never wrought, either through the laziness of the Spaniards, or because they are in possession of the mountaineers, with whom they have little commerce; yet vast quantities of gold are washed down from the hills by the rains, and found mixt with the sand of their rivers.

There are also mines of other metals, and excellent lead-stone found here; and such numbers of wild buffaloes there are in this country, that a good huntman on horseback armed with a spear, will kill ten or twenty in a day: the Spaniards take them for their skins, which they sell to the Chinese; and they serve the mountaineers for their food. Their woods also abound with deer, wild hogs, and goats, the last are so plentiful in one of these islands, that the Spaniards gave it the name of Cabras. They have also imported from New Spain, China, and Japan, horses and cows, which are considerably multiplied; but the sheep they brought over come to nothing, which is thought to proceed from the moisture of the earth and the heat of the climate.

They have such abundance of honey-combs that wax is exceeding cheap; the natives make candles of it, and do not use lamps like other Asiatics.

They have several kinds of bees, those they call pocoytan are bigger than ours in Europe, and make their combs full four spans in length, and proportionably in breadth, under the boughs of high trees, and sometimes six or seven in the same place, which continue whole notwithstanding the heavy rains that fall there: those called liquam are as big as those of Europe, and make their combs in hollow trees: another sort of little ones no bigger than flies, called locat, have no sting; but make four honey and black wax, and thieve from the others: there is another sort they call camomo, which, like those called pocoytan, settle upon high trees. As to gums, the trunks of their trees, put out several sorts all the year; one kind, which is the commonest, by the Spaniards called brea, is used instead of pitch; of the others some are medicinal, others odoriferous, and others for other uses: there is such vast plenty of them, that not only the trees but the ground is covered with them; and there are plants that have it on their leaves in the months of April and May.

In these islands are monkeys and baboons of a monstrous bigness, and it is said, they will defend themselves if attacked by men; some of them go upon two feet. When they can find no fruit in the mountains, they go down to the sea to catch crabs, oysters, &c. and that the oyster may not close and catch their paws, they first put in a stone to prevent it shutting close: they take crabs, by putting their tail in the holes where they lie, and when the crab lays hold of it they draw him out. There are great multitudes of civet cats; and if their civet is not taken away every month, they receive so great a heat from it that they tumble about upon the ground till the bladder breaks, which eases them of their pain. Here is found also a cat of a fox colour, with wings like a bat; by the help of which, it is said, they will leap from tree to tree above seven yards distance.

They have a creature called Mago in the island of Leyte, which is like a mouse, only the head is twice as big as the body.

Serpents of a prodigious bigness are found here; one sort of them called ibitin, it is said, will hang themselves by the tail on the arm of a tree, and

draw in a deer, wild boar, or a man, into its mouth as they pass by, and swallow them whole; after which he winds himself round the tree while he has digested his prey: and the good father who relates this story, acquaints us, that the Spaniards told him, the only defence against them was to break the air between the man and the serpent, which he thinks is very rational; for by that means those magnetick or attracting particles spread in that distance would be dispersed; but whoever can digest stories of this kind, had need have the faith, or rather credulity, of a Missionary. There is another kind of snake called asanguay, which eats nothing but hens; they have another called olopong which is exceeding venomous; but the biggest of them are called boles, which sometimes are 20 or 30 spans long.

There is another creature which devours poultry and is called ignana, it is like an alligator, the skin purple, speckled with yellow spots, the tongue cloven, but the feet close with claws; tho' a land creature it passes over rivers swiftly: the Indians and some Spaniards eat it, and say the flesh tastes much like that of a tortoise.

As for the crocodiles of these islands, the Fathers tell us, the females are extraordinary fruitful: so as to bring fifty crocodiles at a time; and the rivers and lakes would be full of them in a very short time, to the great damage of mankind, if they did not devour their own brood; but only those few escape the monster that take a different way: they tell us farther, that these crocodiles have no passage for excrements, but vomit up what remains in their stomachs after digestion: thus the meat continues there a long time, and the creature is not hungry every day; which if they were, they could not be fed without the utter ruin of infinite numbers of men and beasts; which our Missionary looks upon to be very providential. In some of them that have been opened, there has been found men's bones and skulls, and stones which the Indians say they swallow to pave their stomachs. The female lays her eggs out of the water that they may hatch; they are twice as big as a goose egg, white and as hard as a stone; the yolk in them is but small, like that of the tortoise's egg: the Spaniards as well as Indians eat the young crocodiles.

There is another species of crocodiles found in the lakes, generally called alligators; the difference between them and the crocodiles, the same Father tells us, is that they have no tongue; and for want of it can make no noise or swallow in the water, and therefore they eat their prey on the banks; it is said to be a sure defence against them, to carry the fruit bonga about one, which is also a preservative against witchcraft, if we have any faith in the Missionaries: in the seas of Mindanao and Xolo there are abundance of large whales and sea-horses, like those on the land; but without feet or tail.

There are two sorts of tortoises found in these seas, the great ones are eaten and their flesh tastes like beef; but the shell is not valued, the flesh of the lesser sort is not eaten, but the shell is good for several uses, some of them are an antidote against poison, it is said.

But there is one thing very extraordinary which the Missionaries relate, namely, that there are some trees in the Philippines, whose leaves become living creatures, with wings, feet, and tail, and remain after this metamorphosis of the same colour and shape as the other leaves; of this some

Monkeys
and baboons.

Prey upon
fish.

Civet cats.

Flying
cats.

Mago.

Serpents.

Alligators.

Bonga.

Whales,
sea-horses.

Tortoises.

Leaves
turned in-
to insects.

Fathers

CHAP. IX. Fathers pretend to have been eye-witnesses, but another ingenuously acknowledges, it is more probable, that these creatures proceed from a worm which is hatched in the leaves.

Parrots, cocatoes. In these islands are found several sorts of parrots, and white cocatoes, something larger than a parrot, with a tuft of feathers on their heads. The

Turkeys none. The turkeys the Spaniards carried to the Philippines would not live, but they have a hen called camboxa, whose legs are so short that their wings trail on the ground. They have a fowl also of another sort called Xolo, which hath long legs and

Black hen. eats as well as a turkey; and besides the common hens they have another sort which have black flesh and bones, but are well tasted. They have great plenty of fish about these islands, particularly one, which the Spaniards call peremuger or woman-fish, from its having breasts and secret parts like a woman; and there is sometimes seen a sword-fish fifteen foot long in these seas.

Women-fish, sword-fish. The bird called tavan is a black sea fowl, something less than a hen, and has a long neck; it lays its eggs in the sand by the sea-side, forty or fifty in a trench, and then covers them, and they are hatched by the heat of the sand: their eggs are as big as a goose's egg, and but very little white in them; when the chickens are hatched the yolk appears whole and sweet, and the Spaniards often eat the chickens and the yolk of the eggs together in the same dish. The chickens feed on the yolk till they have strength to break through the sand; and then the hen who keeps near the nest calls them out: people go in search of these nests along the shore, and wherever they find the sand thrown up they open it, and sometimes discover eggs and sometimes chickens, which are either of them very good food. There are also a kind of turtle

Doves. doves, grey on the back and white on the breast, and in the middle a red spot like a wound with the fresh blood upon it: they have a bird also

Colin. called colin, black and ash coloured, as big as a blackbird; which has no feathers on the head, but instead of it a crown of flesh. They have also the

Saligan. bird saligan, which builds her nest on the sides of rocks, as the swallows do against a wall, and these are the delicious bird-nests so much esteemed.

Bird-nests. The green bird called herrero is as big as a hen, and has so large and hard a beak, that it will make a hole in the body of a tree to build its nest in; and from the noise it makes at this work, the Spaniards gave it this name, herrero or carpenter.

Herrero. Another bird we are told of called colo-colo, black and almost as big as an eagle, said to be half fish and half bird, which flies and preys upon fish; which seems too much a monster to depend on the relation. There are abundance of peacocks in the

Peacocks. island of Calamianes; but there are no pheasants or partridges in the islands: heathcocks it is said there are, which are very good food; and quails half as big as ours, which have a red beak and feet; and in all the islands there are green birds called volanoes.

Santer. One of the most valuable fruits is called santer, and grows wild in the woods; it is in bigness, shape, and colour, like a ripe peach, and has five kernels like the seeds of an orange: the Spaniards preserve it in the same manner they do quinces, and it is good pickled with vinegar when it is half ripe: the tree is like the walnut, but has large leaves which are medicinal. They have another fruit somewhat bigger, called magol, downy like a peach, and of the colour of an orange, but it is hard to be digested, and not well tasted: the

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tree is as tall as a pear-tree, and has thick boughs and large leaves, like the laurel; the wood is little inferior to ebony. They have also mangoes, durions, and most other Indian fruits. They have

no olives, but a fruit called paxo's, which differ but little from them. Oranges of several kinds there are, different from those of Europe and bigger; and they have both great and small lemons which are generally sweet: here are also introduced several of the fruits of New Spain; but the most profitable trees are their palm-trees, wherein the estates of the great men of the Philippine islands chiefly consist; and among these they reckon 40 several kinds, the principal whereof is the fago-tree already described; the second sort of palm-trees are those that yield wine; these seldom grow big enough to be called trees, and are generally found in salt water marshes; the fruit is like the date, but never comes to maturity, because they cut off the boughs as soon as it blossoms, that the liquor may run into the vessels they place under them: the leaves of these trees interwoven with small canes, serve to cover the roofs of their houses. Of the wine they draw from the palm and coco-trees they make vinegar when it is stale; and draw an oil also from the coco-nut: another sort of these palm-trees is called yonola, which furnishes them with a kind of wool to make quilts and pillows, and with a black thread called jona, of which they make cables for ships; its threads in length and thickness are like hemp, and will last longer in sea water: of the leaves of any of the palm-trees they make hats, and mats for rooms, sails for their shipping, and covering for their houses, as has been hinted already; and put them to several other uses.

The tamarinds or sampalos are a wild fruit, and grow in cods like green pease; they have a sharp taste, and are frequently preserved with sugar: nothing is wholesomer, or better allays the thirst in a fever. The tree is tall and thick, the leaves small, and the wood serves for the same uses ebony does.

These islands all produce cassia; the tree is not so large as the tamarind but has much thicker boughs; the leaves are of a beautiful green, and bigger than those of the pear-tree; and being boiled with the blossoms, in the nature of a conserve, work the same effect as the fruit, and are less nauseous; also the young fruit made into a conserve is safe, and a good laxative: the mountains so abound with this fruit, that in May and June they fat their hogs with it, especially in the island of Mindanao.

They have timber in their mountains fit for building either ships or houses; among the rest they have black ebony and red blayong. There is also the calambac which has an aromatick bark, and several sorts of wood which serve for dying; and one so hard that it cannot be cut without a saw and water, as marble is; and therefore the Portuguese call it ferro or the iron-tree: on the mountains of Manila there are also abundance of bastard nutmeg-trees, of which no use is made.

The cacao plant which has been brought hither from New Spain, increases so that they have no occasion to import it from America, but it is not quite so good: they have also some cinnamon, but not comparable to that of Ceylon.

Here is also the tree amet, from whence the natives draw water by cutting a hole in it: and there is also a kind of cane, by the Spaniards called

G g

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Mangoes, durions.

Fruits of America.

Palm-trees.

Tamarinds.

Cassia.

Timber.

Ebony. Calambac.

Dying-wood.

Hard wood.

Cacao plant.

Cinnamon.

Water-tree. Cane.

VAXA, SO,

NANAB

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vaxuco, which if cut yields fair water enough for a draught, of which there is plenty in the mountains, where water is most wanted: it usually creeps up to the tops of trees, and winds about them like ivy; but there is some of it very strait, of which they make pikes and halberts, and the royal armory at Manila is furnished with such.

Plantains.

In these islands there is also plenty of plantains, of which fruit is held by some that ADAM eat when he fell; the leaves are so long and broad that two of them, one of the Fathers observes, will almost make a cloak. The Indians plant them about their houses, not only for the shade of the leaves, but they serve them for several domestick uses, namely, instead of napkins, plates, &c. of the fruit they often make vinegar; the best of them are called tundques, which are a span and an half long, and as thick as a man's arm; these they eat roasted with wine and cinnamon. There are several other sorts of plantains, of which those they call dedoes de dama, or lady's fingers, are very good; an hundred, and sometimes two hundred, of these plantains hang by one twig, so that they are forced to prop them up.

Sugar-canes.

Here is also plenty of sugar-canes, ginger, indico, tobacco, and potatoes, which are very nourishing to the Indians, and much valued by the Spaniards; and these they have of several kinds, as the camotes, which look like great radishes, and have a pleasant taste and smell. The glabis are like great pine-apple-nuts, and boiled serve the Indians instead of bread, and the Spaniards instead of turneps. The ubis is as big as a pompon, and the plant like ivy, and there is such vast plenty of all kinds of roots throughout the islands, that many thousands of the natives live chiefly upon them: nor are garlick and onions wanting. Pi-enna's, or pine-apples, by the Portuguese called anana's, which are one of the finest fruits of the east, are also found here; but they are accounted feverish: it is said that a knife stuck into one of them half an hour will lose its temper; but I never knew the experiment made, and therefore will not answer for the truth of it.

Flowers and herbs.

There are abundance of odoriferous herbs and flowers in these islands, which grow there naturally without any labour; nor do the natives endeavour to cultivate or improve them, any more than the Spaniards; so that the gardens are not so fine as in Europe. Amongst their flowers the zamaga is one of the finest, it is like a little white rose, with three rows of leaves, and much sweeter than jessamin. The dafa has an aromattick root, and the fields are full of it. The tala also is an odoriferous herb and very fragrant.

Medicinal herbs.

As for medicinal herbs no country abounds with more than the Philippines; for besides sage, St Mary's wort, balm, houseleek, and others known in Europe, they have many peculiar to this country. The herb called del pollo is like purslane, and grows every where; they have given it this name because in a very short time it cures any wounds their game-cocks receive. Panfipan is a taller herb with a white flower like the bean blossom, which being pounded and laid on a wound, soon draws out any poison, and cleanses all corruption. There is also the herb del sapo, and many others of great virtue in the islands of Mindanao and Xolo; one of them is used for the same purposes as the Turks do opium, to suspend the use of their reason, and make them void of fear when they engage an enemy; and the credulous Missionaries really believe as they are told, that the

wounds of those that have taken it will not bleed. We have the same authority for two other wonderful herbs said to be found here, one of which applied to the reins makes a man insensible of weariness; and the other held in the Mouth prevents fainting, and gives such vigour, that a man may travel two days without eating.

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These islands being hot and moist produce abundance of venomous creatures, as the soil does poisonous herbs and flowers, which do not only kill those that touch or taste them, but so infect the air, that many people die in the time of their blossoming: on the contrary, these islands are well furnished with antidotes, particularly the bezoar stone, which is found in the belly of a creature much like a deer; and the root dilao, which is like ginger, and heals wounds made by any venomous beast, being bruised and boiled with oil of cocoes.

Poisonous herbs.

Antidotes.

The herb called by the Spaniards culabras, or Snake-herb, the Fathers tell us, has such virtue, that a snake cut in two will heal and join itself together again with it; and the like virtue is ascribed to a wood called docton, but this seems to want confirmation.

Snake-herb.

The tree camandag is so venomous, that the pilchards eating the leaves which fall into the sea die; as will the persons who eat the poisoned fish. The liquor which flows from the trunk of this tree serves these people to poison the points of their darts, which they blow through the trunks above-mentioned: the very shadow of the tree is so destructive, that as far as it reaches no herb or grass grows; and if transplanted, it kills all the other plants it stands near, except a small shrub which is an antidote against it, and always with it; a bit of a twig of this shrub, or a leaf carried in a man's mouth, is said to be a security against the venom of the tree, and therefore the Indians are never without it.

The maka bukey, which signifies the giver of life, is a kind of ivy which twines about any tree, and grows to the thickness of a man's finger; it has long shoots like vine branches, of which the Indians make bracelets, and esteem them a preservative against poison. There are many other trees and plants of extraordinary virtue in these islands; of which GEORGE CAROLL, a German, apothecary to the college of Jesuits at Manila, has given a description in two volumes in folio. Among others there is the sensitive plant, in all respects like a colewort, which growing out of a rock avoids the touch and retires under water: there is another that grows on St PETER's hill about Minila, which is not very tall, and has little leaves, which whenever it is touched, draws back and closes all its leaves together; for which reason the Spaniards call it la vergin cosa, that is, the bashful.

Giver of life.

There grows near Catbalagan, in the island of Samar, a plant of a surprizing virtue, discovered by the Fathers of the society, as they tell us, of late years: the Dutch have also some knowledge of it, and, 'tis said, will give double the quantity of gold for it. The Plant is like ivy, and twines about any tree it grows near: the fruit which grows out of the knots and leaves resembles a melocotoon in bigness and colour, and within has eight, ten, or sixteen kernels as big as a hazel-nut, each green and yellow, which when ripe drop out of themselves.

A plant good against all distempers, particularly an antidote against poison.

The usual dose given of it is the weight of half a royal, that is, the 16th part of an ounce, powdered

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The orange, lemon, and several other trees bear twice a year: if they plant a sprig, within a year it becomes a tree and bears fruit; and therefore without any hyperbole, says our author, I may affirm, that I never saw such a verdant soil, nor woods full of such old and thick trees, nor trees that yield more sustenance to man in any part of the world.

CHAP. X.

Treats of the language, government, and forces of the respective nations which inhabit the Philippines.

CHAP. X. **Language.** **Writing.** **Mechanicks.** **THE** most universal language in the Philippines, as well as in the rest of the Oriental Islands within the straits of Malacca, is the Malayan tongue. The Spanish and Chinese colonies no doubt speak the language of their respective countries, and that of the Blacks probably is a dialect of the Malabar or Jentoe, spoke in the peninsula of India from whence they came; but the Spaniards have so little commerce with this people, that the Fathers Missionaries give us no other account of their language, than that they cannot tell what to make of it: nor do we hear of any writing amongst them; but the tawny nations that inhabit the plains and the sea coasts, the Missionaries inform us, write upon paper, where it is to be had, and in other places on long coco leaves, or the smooth part of the cane with an iron pencil, beginning at the bottom and writing upwards, placing the first line on the left hand and proceeding towards the right.

The Chinese seem to be the only mechanicks amongst them: in that suburb where they live in Manila are found all sorts of workmen and trades, while the Spaniards and Indians seldom apply themselves to any business but when necessity compels them. In the speculative sciences the na-

tives have but little knowledge, and particularly are so ignorant in astronomy, that if an eclipse happens they beat upon their drums and brazen vessels, like some of their neighbours, to fright away the dragon that would devour the sun and moon.

As to the civil government of these islands; the Spaniards have a Viceroy or Captain-General, who keeps his court in the city of Manila: this is one of the most profitable posts belonging to the Spanish monarchy, and would be desired by most of the grandees, if it was not at so great a distance from Europe; he has under him two and twenty Alcades or Governors of towns and provinces, two whereof reside in the city of Manila, the government of the Europeans being committed to one, and that of the Asiatics to another: there is also a tribunal of three or four Judges, in which the Captain-General presides, but has no voice; and where the opinions are equal, he appoints some Doctor to give the casting vote: these Judges as well as the Solicitor for the crown have their places for life, and cannot be turned out by the Viceroy; but all military employments are in his gift, and he appoints the several Alcades or Governors of provinces under him: He has the nomination also of the Captains of the Galcons which sail every year to New Spain, which post alone is worth 50,000 crowns a year: he keeps a garrison of about eight hundred soldiers in the city, and has three or four thousand more under his command in other parts of the country, whose pay is two pieces of eight and fifty pounds of rice a month per man.

When a Captain-General is recalled, proclamation is made for all persons to come in and exhibit their complaints against him for sixty days, and he undergoes a severe trial, the successor frequently being his Judge; and the preceding Governor, when his trial is over, is sent back to Spain with an account of his conduct and the proceedings against him.

As to the ecclesiastical government, there is an Archbishop at Manila elected by the King, who determines all appeals from his suffragan Bishops, as well as all matters in his own diocese; but there lies an appeal from him to the Pope's Delegate, who resides in one of the Philippine islands. The Archbishop has six thousand pieces of eight per annum from the crown, and the Bishops of Sibuyan, Camerines, and Caguyan five thousand. Besides these, there resides at Manila a titular Bishop, or Coadjutor, who assists in the first vacant church, that there may be no intermission in the cure of souls, during six years, before a new Prelate can come. As for the inquisition, there is a Commissary appointed by the court of inquisition at Mexico.

The Chinese had formerly the dominion of most part of the sea coasts, as has been hinted already, but they abandoned these islands, either because they were at too great a distance from them, or that they found it very chargeable maintaining them; however, such numbers of Chinese were left behind, that there were found no less than forty thousand in and about the city of Manila since the Spaniards arrived there, who sometimes contended with them for the sovereignty; whereupon the Spaniards having compelled them to submit, banished all Chinese the island, except three or four thousand, whom they suffered to remain there on account of their usefulness to the government, these being the only mechanicks and artisans in the country, and without whom they could hardly possibly subsist: and the Spaniards, though the

CHAP. X. **Civil government.** **Spiritual government, Archbishops and Bishops.** **Chinese.**

C H A P.
X.

most bigotted people in the world, suffer them to profess their religion openly at Manila, rather than be without them; which is a favour they do not usually grant in their colonies. There is an Alcade and other Spanish officers appointed over them, whose salary they are obliged to pay: and besides several other duties and taxes to the crown of Spain, they pay no less than ten thousand pieces of eight per annum, only for the liberty of gaming some few days at the beginning of every new year.

Gaming.

Their usual game is called metua, which is no more than even and odd, a small heap of money is laid down, and a person guesses whether the number laid down is even or odd, if he guesses right he wins the heap, if not he answers so much. The Spaniards do not suffer them to remain in any Christian house in the night-time, nor to have any light or fire in their own after it is dark. This people, it is observed, are much given to sodomy, nor did they apprehend it to be any crime, till they were made sensible of it by the punishments inflicted on them.

Chinese
kept in
subjection

Sodomy.

Number
of people
in these
islands.

It is all the Philippine Islands there are about two hundred and fifty thousand souls subject to the crown of Spain; and yet these, it is computed, do not amount to the twelfth part of the people who inhabit the Philippines. The Spaniards exact a duty of ten royals per annum, from every master of a family under their government, and from every single man five royals, who is above eighteen and under sixty years of age; as it is said they do also from every maid who is upwards of twenty-four and under fifty years of age: and the Spaniards parcel out their territories in little districts among the great men of the islands, who also exact farther duties from the subject, and make their yoke sit heavy upon them.

As there is no writing there can be no records which may inform us, what was the ancient government of the inhabitants of these islands: however, the Spaniards pretend to tell us, that they first came over under several captains and leaders, and that every one retained the government of his own people, and were never subject to one sole Monarch; and this indeed may reasonably be supposed, because every mountain almost is possessed by a particular tribe, which has a Governor of its own, independent on the rest, and that they frequently make war upon one another to this day.

But however savage the Spanish Missionaries may have represented the natives, they are not however, according to their own confession, without laws and customs which may deserve the imitation of other nations: and first, they enjoin that the profoundest respect and submission be paid to parents and governors; and so tender they are in the case of life, that theft is only punished by fine or imprisonment. The eldest son succeeds to the father's honour and estate, and where there are no sons, his effects are divided among the daughters. When they swear it is before some wild beast, or a lighted torch, wishing they may be devoured by such beasts, or consumed like the torch, if they do not perform what they stipulate for.

There are a great number of slaves amongst them, who become so by their poverty; for when any person is unable to pay his creditor, he is obliged to be his slave till the debt is paid; nor is it uncommon with them to sell their children when they are in any distress: they make slaves also of all prisoners they take in the wars: the great men

also have their vassals, to whom they assign certain portions of land for their subsistence; and these are allowed to live with their families in their own houses, and only cultivate their Lord's lands, and do other services in husbandry at certain seasons for them; which has some resemblance to the ancient tenure of villenage in this part of the world.

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The arms of the natives are a bow and arrows, and lance headed with iron, or wood hardened in the fire; they have also broad daggers with two edges; and trunks through which they shoot little poisoned darts, and the slightest wounds given by these darts are mortal, if there be not some immediate application made: they have also a long narrow shield for their defence, and a helmet; and some say back and breast; but these are made only of cane, covered with a buffalo's hide, to defend them from the little poisoned darts.

Arms.

The Blacks of the mountains, the Missionaries tell us, will never submit to the government of the Spaniards, and have hardly any commerce with them, but choose to continue in their barbarous customs, out of a foolish love of liberty, say the Missionaries, and are such enemies to the Spaniards, that if they happen to kill one, they invite all their family to rejoice for three days successively, drinking out of his skull while the entertainment lasts.

Blacks still
a free people.

Nor can the Spaniards much complain of the acts of hostility, when they acknowledge they make slaves of all the Blacks that fall into their hands: but tho' the Spaniards have no commerce directly with the mountaineers, yet it seems they have some intercourse with them by means of the Indian nations who inhabit the flat country; for to these the Spaniards sell tobacco, and several other things; for which the Blacks exchange their gold, bees-wax, &c.

C H A P. XI.

Treats of their religion, marriages, and funeral rites observed by the inhabitants of the Philippines.

THERE can be nothing recorded in writing either of the religion or government of the first inhabitants of these islands; but they retain some traditions in their songs, concerning the genealogy and heroic acts of their Gods, or ancient heroes. By these it appears they worshipped one supreme Being, the maker or father of all their subordinate Deities: they adored also birds and beasts, like the Egyptians; and the sun and moon, like the Assyrians; and indeed there is not a rock, stone, promontory, or river, but what they sacrifice to; or any old tree to which they do not pay divine honours, inasmuch that it is looked upon as a kind of sacrilege to cut them down on any account whatsoever. This superstition still prevails so far amongst the most civilized of the people, that no arguments will prevail with them to cut down a certain great old tree called balette, whose leaves are like those of a chestnut-tree, and its bark good for wounds; or some ancient tall canes, vainly believing the souls of their ancestors dwell in them, and that the cutting of those trees or canes would put them to pain; which part of their superstition being so exactly agreeable to that of some of their neighbours on the continent, shews from whence they are derived. They worship

C H A P.
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Ancient
government.
Religion.

C H A P. XI. worship also their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, like the Chinese; which is not at all to be wondered at, when that nation so long possessed great part of the country.

Temples. There were antiently no temples amongst them, but they had certain caves wherein they placed those idols to which they offered sacrifice, which was done by the mediation of their Priests: some young handsome girl giving the first stroke to the victim with a spear, which being slain was cut in pieces, dressed, and eat in a reverential manner. **Superstition.** They were so superstitious, if we may believe the Missionaries, that if a snake was found on their clothes they would never wear them again; and upon a snake's crossing the way, they would return home again, whatever business they were going about. We are told also, that they determined every thing of importance by casting lots.

Marriages. Upon a marriage the woman hath no fortune, but the husband pays a sum of money to the father, or nearest relation, for his wife: and the marriage is celebrated by a Priestess: they are both obliged to eat out of one dish, signifying that they are to run the same fortune, and partake of the same joys and sorrows, and having sacrificed some beast, afterwards an entertainment is made as usual in other countries. They always marry in their own tribes, or cast, and the nearest of their kindred, excepting the first degree. Divorces are allowed on either side, but polygamy is not allowed among some of them, unless they have no children, and then the man may take his slave to his bed; but some other of the Indian nations allow two, or more wives, and the children born of the first, have a double portion.

Some of the Indians in these islands, have no other ceremony at their weddings than joining of hands before their parents, or friends.

As to that part of the country which are Mahometan, they allow a plurality of women, as in other Mahometan countries.

Names. The mothers give their children their names, and they are generally taken from some circumstance of their birth; as for instance, MALIVAG, which signifies difficult, because it was brought into the world with difficulty. MALACCA's, that is, strong, because it appears such at the birth. At other times they give it the name of the first thing that occurs, as DAMA, the name of an herb; and by this only they are known till they are married: then the first son or daughter gives the name to its parents, as AMANI-MALIVAG, IMMANI-MALACCA's; that is, the father of MALIVAG; the mother of MALACCA's. The difference between the names of men and women consists in the addition of the syllable IN; as for instance, ILOGE is a man's name, and ILOGIN a woman's.

Mourning. When a person of condition dies, not only his relations but strangers are hired to come and mourn, and in their country songs, lament the departure of the deceased. The body being washed and perfumed with benjamin, and other sweet gums, and wrapt up in silk, according to its quality, is put into a coffin made of one piece of precious wood, so close as to keep out all air; and then being placed upon a table in the house, with lattices before it, the clothes and arms of the deceased are laid in a chest by the coffin; and if it be a woman, the utensils necessary for her work, and all sorts of meat are set before the corpse. After some time the body is interred in the burying place of the family, and a feast is made for

the people invited to the funeral; but the widow and children keep fast for some time, abstaining both from fish, and flesh, and living only on rice and herbs. Some of these nations mourn in black, and others in white, shaving their heads and eyebrows on these occasions; and formerly when a great man died, the neighbourhood were obliged to keep silence for several days: sacrifices are also offered to them who die in defence of their country.

C H A P. XII.

Contains a description of the rest of the Philippine Islands that are most resorted to.

C H A P. XII. I shall here only describe the situation of such other of the Philippine Islands as are most frequented. As to their manners and customs, they have already been mentioned in the description of Luconia, and therefore need not be again repeated: and first,

The island of Tandaya or Philippina... which has of late obtained the name of Samar, lies to the south-east of the island of Luconia, between which and that island is a narrow sea, called the straits of Manila. This island is about 130 leagues in circumference, and the chief town is Catbalagan, which is governed by an Alcald. The north-east point of this island makes the cape called Cabo du Spirito Santo.

Masbate lies to the westward of Philippina, or Masbate; Samar, and south of Luconia, in the latitude of twelve degrees, and is about thirty leagues in compass.

Mindoro lies to the westward of Masbate, in Mindoro, the latitude of thirteen degrees, and is seventy leagues in compass.

Luban is a little island of five leagues in circumference, which lies to the northward of Mindoro, and is only famous for a burning mountain.

The third island in magnitude of the Philippines is Paragoya, which lies most to the westward of any of them; it is about 100 leagues in length, and from ten to twenty-five in breadth; that part of it which lies next to Borneo is governed by the King of that island; and the inhabitants, like those of Borneo, are Mahometans; but the north-east part of it is under the dominion of Spain; the middle of the island is possessed by Indians, who are subject to neither. It lies in nine degrees north latitude.

To the north of the island of Paragoya lie three small islands, called the Calamines, famous for their edible birds nests.

Panay lies thirty leagues to the eastward of Mindoro, and is one hundred leagues in compass; the middle of it is in the latitude of ten degrees, and is separated from Samar only by the strait of Juanilo.

Leyte lies twenty leagues to the northward of Mindanao; it is about an hundred leagues in compass; a mountain which runs through the middle of it is said to make a great alteration in the air, it being often cold on one side when it is excessive hot on the other.

Bohol lies to the south-west of Leyte, in the latitude of ten degrees, and is about forty leagues in circumference.

Sebu or Sibu lies to the south-west of Leyte, the chief town whereof is Nombre de Dios, which lies in ten degrees; this island is about 20 leagues

in length, and eight in breadth: here MAGELLANS first set up the King of Spain's standard; and from hence the Spaniards afterwards proceeded to the conquest of the other islands. The city of Nombre de Dios was the first town built by the Spaniards in the Philippine Islands; it was afterwards made a Bishop's see, has in it a cathedral church, and several monasteries: this town had formerly also the privilege of sending ships to New Spain, and was a place of great trade; but the trade is now removed to Manila.

Negroes Island lies between that of Panay and Sebu, in the latitude of nine degrees, and is about 100 leagues in compass: it takes its name from the Blacks who principally inhabit it, and resemble those of Africk, as 'tis said; but it is most probable they descended from the Blacks of the peninsula on this side Ganges.

Thirty leagues south-west of Mindanao lies the island of Xolo, governed by a Prince of its own. All the ships of Borneo touch here. And it may be called the mart of all the Moorish kingdoms in the East; it abounds in rice, and is the only island of the Philippines that breeds elephants, which multiply exceedingly, 'tis said, because the inhabitants never take them. The sea throws up abundance of Amber-grease on the shore here.

There are a multitude of other little islands which go under the name of the Philippines, but these are reckoned the principal: I proceed now to give an account of some islands lately discovered, which lie to the eastward of them.

CHAP. XIII.

Gives an account of some islands lately discovered, called the New Philippines.

THERE have lately been discovered several other islands to the eastward of the Philippine, from their neighbourhood to the former, called the New Philippines, of which Father CLAN, in a letter from Manila, (inserted in the Philosophical Transactions) gives the following account: That he happening to be at the town of Guivam in the island of Samar, found 29 Palaos, or inhabitants of certain new discovered islands, who were driven thither by the easterly winds, which blow in these seas from December to May. They had run before the wind for seventy days together, according to their own relation, without being able to make any land till they came in sight of the town of Guivam: they were thirty-five persons, and embarked in two boats with their wives and children, when they first came out, but several perished by the hardships they underwent in the voyage; they were under such a consternation when a man from Guivam attempted to come on board them, that all the people which were in one of the vessels, with their wives and children, jumped over-board; however, they were at length persuaded to steer into the harbour, and they landed the 28th of December, 1696. They eat coco-nuts and roots which were brought them very freely, but would not touch boiled rice, the common food of the Asiatics. Two women, who had formerly been cast ashore from the same islands, were their interpreters; they related that their country consisted of 32 islands, and by the form of their vessels and sails, their country seemed to be in the neighbourhood of the Marianas, or Ladrone Islands; they related that

their country was exceeding populous, and that all the islands are under the dominion of one King, who keeps his court in the island of Lamarec: the natives go half naked, and the men paint and stain their bodies, making several sorts of figures upon them, but the women and children are not painted; the complexion and shape of their face is much like those of the tawny Philippines, or Malayes: the men wear only a cloth about their loins which covers their thighs, and another loose about their bodies which they tie before. There is little difference betwixt the dresse of men and women, but that the cloth which the women wear, hangs a little lower on their knees; their language is different both from the people of the Philippines, and the Ladrone Islands, and comes nearest to that of the Arabs: the women that seem most considerable amongst them, wear necklaces, bracelets, and rings of tortoise-shell; they subsisted themselves all the time they were at sea with the fish they caught, in a kind of wicker basket with a great mouth, and ending in a point, which they halled after them; and happened to be supplied with rain-water to drink: they have no cows or dogs in their islands, and they run away at the sight of the one, and the barking of the other; neither have they any horses, deer, cats, or any fourfooted beasts whatever; or any land fowls but hens, which they breed up, and never eat their eggs: they were surpris'd at the whiteness of the Europeans, having never seen any people of this complexion, as they were at their manners and customs: it does not appear that they have any religion, nor do they use any set meals, but eat and drink whenever they are hungry or thirsty, and then but sparingly. They salute any person by taking him by the hand or foot; or gently stroking his face: among their tools they have a saw made of a large shell, sharpened with a stone, having no iron, or other metals in their country; and were surpris'd to see the many tools used in building a ship. Their arms are lances or darts, headed with human bones, and sharpened. They seem to be a people of much life and courage, but of a peaceful disposition; and are well proportioned, but not of a large size.

When they were to be conducted to the Father Missionary, who from the respect that was paid him, they took to be the Governor of the country, they painted their bodies yellow, which they look upon as a compleat dresse, and fit to approach great persons in. They are very expert in diving, and sometimes find pearls in the shells they fetch up, but throw them away as of no real value.

Another letter we meet with in the Philosophical Transactions, concerning these islands, written by Father GOBIEN. He says they are 87 in number, and make one of the finest Archipelagos of the East; that they lie from the tropick of cancer to the equator, having the Ladrone, or Marianas on the east, and the old Philippines on the west; and he gives us a map of them, made from an account he received of the natives.

He says the people are of a peaceful disposition, and never do violence to one another, that murder or homicide was never heard of amongst them; and it is a proverb, "That one man never kills another;" that every island has its Governor, subject to the King of the country, who keeps his court in the island of Lamarec, or

CHAP.

XIII.

A farther account of the New Philippines.

Falu.

C H A P. Falu. He observes, that tho' these islands have never been heard of till of late years, yet the natives of Samar have long since from their mountains discovered thick smokes to the eastward, where these islands are supposed to lie, in the summer time, when those islanders set fire to the woods to clear the ground.

By Father GOMIEN'S map of these islands, which is also inserted in the Philosophical Transactions, they appear to lie in the eastern seas, almost in form of a crescent, or great arch: but this map seems to be drawn rather by the strength of imagination, than any certain discoveries that can be depended on; for he tells us it was not made by Europeans, none having ever sailed that way; but some of the islanders who were cast ashore on the Philippines, ranged some little stones upon a table in such a manner as these islands are laid down in his map; but as he has made them to extend from two degrees south latitude to seventeen north, and as far east and west, I don't see how it is possible illiterate people, who are perfectly ignorant of the mathematics, and the frame of the globe, should be able to describe the situation of them. There is this farther objection against the account given of these islands, that in some instances it contradicts itself: for we are told in one part of it, that these islanders had been driven seventy days before the wind, when they were cast ashore on the Philippines; which at a hundred miles a day, (and this is but moderate sailing with a brisk gale) must make them seventy hundred miles distant from the Old Philippines; and yet it is said the people of the Philippines can see the smoke of their fires from their coasts; from whence, either we must conclude that these islands are not so far from the Old Philippines as is pretended, or that those people have a much better eye-sight than the inhabitants on this side the globe; not that I would infer from hence, that this relation is to be entirely discredited, or that there are no lands or islands to the eastward of the Philippines; probably there are many that are not yet discovered, or will be some hundred years hence; but I think the Spaniards have been a little too hasty in describing their situation and extent, before they have ever been visited by any one man who is capable of giving a description of them.

We are told also that some of the people who came from these eastern islands reported, that one of them was inhabited only by women; and that the men of the neighbouring islands visited them at certain times, for the sake of propagation, and brought away all the male children when they returned; but left the females with their warlike mothers, who constitute a new nation of Amazons.

Now there are three or four circumstances which frequently make me suspect the veracity of new discoverers, and these are their meeting with giants, monsters, cannibals, and amazons; not that I absolutely reject every thing of this nature, but most of our fabulous gentlemen having gone in the same track for near three thousand years, it is enough to make a wary man be upon his guard, when he finds a repetition of these prodigies in nature: for those who attended MAGELLANS in his discoveries, it seems, talked of giants and monsters that have never been seen since, and yet they traced out the way through the Pacifick Ocean, and give a very just account of the circumnavigation of the globe at their return home:

we must therefore consider the capacity, the interest, the vanity, and prejudices of the traveller; and though we cannot believe every thing, neither are we to reject every thing, but make use of the reason God has given us, and weigh the probability of every relation till we can arrive at a greater certainty: infallibility is not to be expected any where but at Rome, and since we remain so much in the dark in the history of our own country, mathematical certainty, 'tis presumed, will not be required in an account of the most distant nations: if we set these things in the best light they are capable of, and make some improvements on those who have gone before us, I am satisfied my countrymen, remarkable for their humanity and good nature, will countenance the undertaking.

C H A P. XIV.

Treats of the island of Celebes, or Macassar.

TO the southward of the Philippines lies the island of Celebes, or Macassar, extending from one degree 30 minutes north latitude, to five degrees 30 minutes south; having the great island of Borneo on the west, and the Moluccas on the east. The length of it from the south-west point to the north-east, is about five hundred miles, and in the broadest part of it, it is near two hundred miles over. The south part of the island is divided by a bay of seven or eight leagues wide, which runs forty or fifty leagues up into the country, and on the east side of the island are several bays, and harbours, and abundance of small islands and shoals: towards the north there is some high land: but on the east the country is low and flat, and watered with many little rivulets.

This island is divided into six petty kingdoms, or provinces, the principal whereof are Celebes, on the north-west, lying under the equinoctial; and Macassar, which takes in all the south part of the island: the rest of the provinces were usually under the dominion of one of these; whereupon the island sometimes receives its name from one, and sometimes from the other.

The air is hot and moist, the whole country lying under, or very near the line, subject to great rains. It is most healthful during the northern monsoons: if they fail of blowing their accustomed time, which is very seldom, the island grows sickly, and great numbers of people are swept away.

They have mines of copper, tin, and gold, but I do not find they are much wrought; the gold they have is found chiefly in the sands of their rivers, and at the bottom of hills, washed down by torrents.

In their woods they have ebony, calambac, and sanders, and several sorts of wood proper for dying; and no place, it is said, affords larger bamboos, some of them being four or five fathoms long, and above two foot diameter, which they make use of in building their houses and boats.

Their fruits and flowers are much the same with those in the Philippines, and therefore I shall not tire the reader with a repetition of them, only mention some of the principal.

They have pepper and sugar of their own growth, as well as betel and arek, in great plenty; but no nutmegs, mace, or cloves; however, of these

Reflections on the account of the New Philippines.

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Situation of Macassar.

Provinces.

Air.

Mines.

Woods.

Fruits.

these they used formerly to import such quantities from the Spice Islands that they had sufficient for their own use, and sold great quantities to foreigners.

Their rice is said to be better than in other parts of India, it not being overflowed annually, as in other countries, but watered from time to time by the husbandmen as occasion requires; and from the goodness of their rice, it is thought the natives are of a stronger constitution than those of Siam or other parts of India.

Their fruits are also held to be of a more delicious taste than the fruits of other countries which are exposed to floods: the plains here are covered with the cotton shrub which bears a red flower, and when the flower falls, it leaves a head about as big as a walnut, from whence the cotton is drawn; and that which comes from Macassar is accounted the finest in India.

Of all their plants, opium is what they most admire; it is a shrub which grows at the bottom of mountains, or in stony ground: the branches afford a liquor which is drawn out much after the same manner as palm wine, and being stopped up close in a pot, comes to a consistency, when they make it up in little pills: they often dissolve one of these pills in water and sprinkle their tobacco with it; and those who are used to take it can never leave it off: they are lulled into a pleasing dream, and intoxicated as with strong liquor; but it insensibly preys upon their spirits and shortens their lives: they will take the quantity of two pins heads in a pipe of tobacco, when they enter into a battle, and become almost insensible of wounds or danger till the effect of it is worn off.

The natives of this island are famous for the poisons they compound of the venomous drugs and herbs their country produces; of which, it is said, the very touch or smell occasions present death: they dip the point of their crices or daggers in these fatal mixtures, as they do their darts which they blow through their hollow trunks; and tho' they have been poisoned twenty years, the strength of the poison is not lost, but the least wound proves mortal; and so suddenly does the poison operate and seize the vitals, that we are told of a certain criminal, who, by way of experiment, was wounded in the toe with one of those little poisoned darts, who died notwithstanding two European surgeons stood ready to cut off the part as soon as he was wounded.

Some of these poisonous plants are so like opium, that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other, tho' the cattle have that sagacity, it is observed, that they seldom touch a noxious herb; and if they happen to tread near one, fly from it, as if they knew better than man the danger of approaching them.

Animals.
Monkeys. Few countries afford larger or better cattle than Macassar, and such numbers of large monkeys and baboons infest the island, that it is said, they are dangerous to travellers, and a man must be very well armed to defend himself against them. Some of them have no tail, others very long; some go on all four, and others walk upright on two feet, like men, never using their forefeet but as hands. The white are as big as an English mastiff, and much more dangerous than the black or straw coloured, but their principal spight, it is said, is at the women, if they meet with one alone they will call their companions together, and if

they are not prevented, strangle her and pull her in a thousand pieces.

These monkeys it seems are masters of the forests, and by keeping in bodies will be too hard for any wild beast, serpents only they are afraid of, who continually make war upon them, and will pursue the monkeys to the very tops of trees, and devour them.

In some of these apes, 'tis said, is found the bezoar stone, which is much better, and consequently dearer than those found in goats.

Elephants there are none bred in the island, but little horses they have abundance for riding; the natives use no other saddle than a painted cloth without any stirrups, and a cord with a bit made of wood serves them for a bridle; they have a very hardy hoof and never shod; they are not put to drawing, their oxen and buffaloes serve for that use.

There is but one large river in the island, which Rivers runs from north to south, into the bay of Macassar, in about the fifth degree of south latitude, where it is about half a league broad, and washes the walls of Macassar city. This river is much infested with crocodiles, who have the boldness, it is said, to set upon a boat of people sometimes, but this I am inclined to rank with another story they tell us of their mermaids, which I never saw any foundation for. The channel of the river is deep enough in some places to carry the largest vessels, but the depth is very unequal, so that in other places a vessel of fifty tons can hardly pass; but the Dutch are in possession of another port called Jompanan four or five leagues to the southward, which is as commodious a harbour as is to be found in the Indian seas; this was the first considerable place the Dutch made themselves masters of in the island; and here it was they fell upon the Portuguese fleet when they were at peace with that nation, and sunk and seized them all; but this they could not effect till they had spirited up a rebellion against the King of Macassar, who was a fast friend to the Portuguese; and when they found all other means fail, the Dutch got the advantage of the King by poisoning the water where they observed his soldiers went to drink. They set fire also to the rice fields which were just ready for harvest, and burnt all his country round about; and having by famine compelled that place to capitulate, they afterwards blocked up the capital city of Macassar, and having undermined and blown up great part of the walls, the compelled the King to sign a capitulation to let them enjoy Jompanan, and all the trade of the island, and to expel the Portuguese. Since this, in the year 1669, they compelled the King to surrender the fortresses and city of Macassar into their hands, and to accept of such conditions as the council of Batavia were pleased to impose upon him, particularly, they would not suffer him to have any communication with the Spice Islands, which brought him in his greatest revenue, and was the principal trade of his people; for they carried over rice, and the produce of their country thither, for which they received spices in return, and with these traded with the Europeans and all other nations; so that while this King was able to make head against the Dutch, which he did for many years, the Dutch were not able to monopolize the spice trade, as they have done since. The Macassarians may well be said to have fought the battles of the Europeans, and particularly of the English, and it is pity they were

Dutch operations at Macassar.

CHAP. XIV. were not timely assisted by our East-India Company; and even yet, would we send out a small detachment to assist that injured people to recover their liberties, we might soon recover our share in the spice trade. Nor is there a nation in India but would gladly assist the English, in extirpating their tyrannical Dutch masters, who have been guilty of such cruelties, such oppression and treachery, that they are avoided and detested by all the kingdoms of the east.

To proceed, Macassar is seated on the banks of the great river above-mentioned, here the Dutch Company have a strong fort defended by a numerous artillery, and a garrison of seven or eight hundred men. The streets of the town are wide and neat, but not paved, and trees are planted on each side of them. The palaces, mosques, and great houses, are of stone; but the houses of the meaner sort, of wood of various colours, which make them look very beautiful, but are built on pillars like those of Siam, and the roofs like theirs also are covered with palm or coco leaves.

Markets. There are shops along the streets, and large market-places, where a market is held twice in twenty-four hours, viz. in the morning before sun-rise, and an hour before sun-set, where only women are seen; a man would be laughed at to be found amongst them: from all the villages you see the young wenches crowding to market with flesh, fish, rice, and fowls; they abstain from pork, which their religion forbids.

Upon a computation of the number of inhabitants in this city and the neighbouring villages, some years ago, they amounted to 160,000 men able to bear arms; but now are not half that number, many of them having forsaken their country since the Dutch deprived them of their trade. The rest of the towns and villages were once equally populous, but are now many of them deserted.

Genius of the people. The people of Macassar have excellent memories, and are quick of apprehension, they will imitate any thing they see, and would probably become good proficients in all arts and sciences, if they did not want good masters to improve their talents.

Good bodied men, and good soldiers. They have also strong robust bodies, are mighty industrious, and as ready to undergo fatigues as any people whatever; nor are any people more addicted to arms and hardy enterprizes, inasmuch that they may be looked upon as almost the only soldiers on the other side the bay of Bengal; and accordingly are hired into the service of other Princes and States on that side, as the Swis are in this part of the world: even the Europeans frequently employ them in their service, but have sometimes suffered by trusting them too far; or rather, our people being too apt to use them like slaves, as they do the poor Portuguese and Muftees in their service; this is a treatment which the Macassarians will not bear, and never fail to revenge whenever it is attempted by our little unthinking European Governors.

Stature and Complexion. The people of Macassar are of a moderate stature, their complexion swarthy, their cheek-bones stand high, and their noses are generally flat; the last is esteemed a beauty, and almost as much pains taken to make them so in their infancy, as to make the Chinese Ladies have little feet.

Hair. They have shining black hair, which is tied up and covered with a turban, or cloth wound about their heads when they are dressed, but at

other times they wear a kind of hat or cap with little brims.

CHAP. XIV. They continually rub and supple the limbs of their infants with oil, to render them nimble and active; and this is thought to be one reason there is hardly ever seen a lame or crooked person amongst them, either man or woman.

Infants. Their male children of the better sort, 'tis said, are always taken from their mothers at six or seven years of age, and committed to the care of some remote relation, that they may not be too much indulged and effeminated by the caresses of the mother; they are sent to school to their priests, who teach them to write and read and cast accounts, and the precepts of the Alcoran: their characters very much resemble the Arabick, which is not strange, since their ancestors, many of them, were Arabians.

Educ. But besides their books, every child is bred up to some handicraft trade; they are also taught several sports and martial exercises, if they are of quality; but the meaner sort are employed in husbandry, fishing, and ordinary trades, as in other places.

Character of the people. This people seem to be inspired with just notions of honour and friendship, and there are instances of many of them who have exposed their lives even in defence of foreigners and Christians; and of others who have generally relieved and maintained people in distress, and even suffered them to share their estates. They retained that love of liberty, that they were the last of the Indian nations that were enslaved by the Dutch, which did not happen neither till after a long and very expensive war, wherein almost the whole force of the Hollanders in India was employed.

It must be acknowledged at the same time that no people are more subject to passion; but it is soon over, and they will condemn their own rashness if they are in the wrong.

Women. The women are remarkably chaste and reserved, at least they cannot help appearing so; for the least smile or glance on any but their husbands, is held a sufficient reason for a divorce: nor dare they admit of a visit even from a brother, but in the presence of the husband: and the law indemnifies him for killing any man he shall find alone with his wife, or on whom she has conferred any mark of her favour.

On the other hand, the man keeps as many wives and concubines as he pleases, and nothing can be more ignominious than the want of children, and the having but one wife: the love of women, and the desire of children is universal: and according to the number of women and children the man possesses, his happiness is rated.

To proceed, though the women of fashion generally keep close, yet upon certain festivals they are suffered to come abroad and spend their time in publick company, in dancing and other diversions used in the country; but the men do not mix with them as in this part of the world, only they have the happiness to see and be seen, which makes them wait for these good times with impatience.

Parents usually match their children in their infancy, sometimes soon after they are born. When the young fellow is arrived to sixteen or seventeen, and has gone through his exercises, he is allowed to wait on his mistress, and marries soon after: he learns to ride, to draw the bow, discharge a

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XIV.

fufee, handle his fcytnar and crice, and to shoot thofe little darts already mentioned through a fmoth trunk of ebony, or fome fuch wood: this dart is pointed with the tooth of a fea fifh which is dipped in poifon; and with thefe, 'tis faid, they will hit a fmall mark fourfcore yards.

One who has made arms his profeffion, is fo much a gentleman foldier, even in that part of the world, that it is very feldom he will fubmit to follow hufbandry, or any mean employment afterwards.

Diver-
fions.

Among their diverfions they have games not unlike draughts and chefs; but they are prohibited to play for money, fo that they feldom quarrel on thefe occafions: the flying the paper kite is not beneath their quality, and even old men are taken with the fport; and cock-fighting is a great entertainment with them.

Girls
houfe-
wifry.

The girls are bred up to write and read, and in all kind of houfewifry; they learn to fpin, to fow, to embroider and make their own and the men's clothes, for there are no taylors in the country any more than cooks; and therefore they learn alfo to drefs fuch difhes as are in ufe amongst them, which may foon be done, having very little variety in their diet.

Diet.

Their ordinary food is rice, herbs, roots, fifh, and fruit: they have alfo beef, kid, and poultry, which being boiled and high feafoned with pepper and fices, is cut in fmall pieces and laid by their rice, and this ferves to relifh it; but flefh is eaten in very fmall quantities in this part of the world; it would be of ill confequence to eat a belly-full as we do here. They have but two meals, one at eight or nine in the morning, and the other about fun-fet, which is their heartieft meal: the reft of the day they chew betel and ark, or take tobacco with a mixture of opium: their ufual drink is water or fherbet; they drink alfo tea, coffee, and chocolate, the laft of which the Spaniards of the Philippines furnifh them with; and they have palm wine, arrack, and fpirits, as in the neighbouring countries, which they mix, 'tis faid, fometimes with the fherbet, though their law forbids it.

Liquor.

Sit cross-
legged.

They eat altogether, and not feparately, like fome other Indian nations. They fit cross-legged on the ground, and have low lackered tables on which their meat is fet, in difhes or voiders of filver, copper, or wooden ware; no fpoons, knives, forks, or napkins are ufed, but they take up the rice with their hands, and making it up in hard lumps of the bignefs of an egg, cram it into their mouths.

Habits.

The better fort of people are clothed in a veft, which reaches down to their knees, and is often of brocaded filk, or fcarlet cloth, with gold plate buttons: it has a ftrait fleeve like a waiftcoat, and is buttoned at the wrift; they have alfo a rich fafh, the ends whereof hang down below their knees. Their crice or dagger they wear in their fafh, as they do alfo their knife and purfe. The clothes of the poor people are made of cotton: none of them wear ftockings or fhoes, but fometimes the quality put on a kind of flippers or fandals: their turbants are not clofe on the crown of their heads, like the Turks, but are only a piece of ftuff or linnen wrapped about their heads of any colour: they ufually dye their nails red, and their teeth either red or black.

Teeth.

Women's
gairb.

The women have fhifts of fine mullin, which reach down to their knees; the fleeves are ftrait as a waiftcoat, and come no lower than their el-

bows; the neck fo narrow and clofed that their CHAP.
XIV. breasts are not feen; they wear alfo a kind of drawers or breeches made of filk or cotton, which fit clofe upon them, and reach down to the middle of the leg, and thofe of quality have the knees richly embroidered; for they make their clothes themfelves, and there are no better work-women to be found: over all they throw a loofe linnen cloth, or a piece of ftriped mullin, when they go abroad.

They have no other head-drefs but their hair tied up in a roll on the hinder part of their head, with fome curls which fall gracefully on their necks; they perfume their hair and oil it, which makes it appear ftill blacker than it naturally is, and gives it a glofs. The men wear jewels in their hair, but the women have none; nor have they any other ornaments than a gold chain about their necks.

There are but few flaves in the country, the Slaves. laws prohibiting their making flaves of their brethren of the fame faith, which is one reafon this people are more active and induftrious than other Indians, being ufed to labour and do their work themfelves. However, their great men are never without a train of vaffals or hired fervants, when they appear in publick; but many of them are only hired on thofe occafions, and may be had on very reafonable terms.

Their houfes, as has been obferved, being built with ebony and other fine wood of various colours, the infide is polished and rubbed every day, which makes the wood look more beautiful than any wainfcot; they are very neat alfo in their houfes in other refpects, having the mats and carpets, which they fit on, cleaned and dufted every morning, and veffels on purpofe to fpit in when they chew their betel or take tobacco. They Furniture. have not much furniture in their houfes, it feems; for befides what is neceffary for the kitchen, and their carpets, cushions, pillows, and couches which they fleep on, and the little tables, and voiders they eat off: I do not hear any other mentioned.

Both gentlemen and ladies of quality, when Grandees. they go abroad have a ftated number of fervants to attend them according to their condition, nor will they ever ftir out, till they have procured the ufual number, by hiring or borrowing them if they have not fervants of their own.

At their vifits a carpet and cushion is always Vifits. brought for the ftrangers to loll upon, as chairs are fet in this part of the world; and as the Chinefe once poffeffed thefe iflands, they retain many of their ceremonies, which I will not tire the reader with the repetition of, only obferve, that their compliments are prefcribed them, and they ufe but few words in their falutations.

The Princes in this ifland antiently parcelled out fome of their lands to the great Lords, as is Vaffals, and mili-
tary te-
nures.

practifed in feveral neighbouring countries; all that inhabit fuch a lordfhip or diftrict, are in a manner vaffals or tenants to thofe who poffefs the lordfhips, and the Lord holds of the Prince thefe lands by certain rents and fervices, and particularly to attend the King in his wars, with a certain number Nobility. of foldiers at his own charges: nor do thefe Lords ever appear at court, or in any publick place, without fourfcore or a hundred of their vaffals and tenants to attend them. Thefe are looked upon as the principal nobility of the ifland, and take place immediately after the Royal Family. There are two other inferior orders of nobility or gen-
try,

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try, who hold their estates by much the same tenure, who have smaller districts, or perhaps a particular village only, under their command.

The chief wife here is ennobled, and bears her husband's title, but retains her own name. The children also, all of them, inherit their father's honour; so that their nobility are frequently as poor and as numerous as in Germany; the eldest son going away with the bulk of the estate.

Govern-
ment.

The government is monarchical, and the crown hereditary, if it may be called so, where the eldest brother inherits to the exclusion of the children. The reason whereof is said to be, that the crown may never descend upon the head of an infant unable to govern or protect his people. But though the Prince is said to be absolute, I perceive great part of his power is transferred to his Prime Minister, who disposes almost of all places of trust in the civil government, first giving a list of them to the King, who never refuses to confirm them, or to enquire into the qualifications of such officers: the household indeed, and the revenues, the King looks into himself, and musters his troops twice every month; but as to the civil government, it is left almost entirely to the Prime Minister.

Forces.

The forces of the King of Macassar in time of peace maintain themselves, having nothing more than their clothes, arms, and ammunition allowed them, unless they are drawn out into actual service, and then they are subsisted at the King's charge; and it is said, in some of his former wars, he has brought twelve thousand horse and four score thousand foot into the field, of which his foot are accounted the best in India; but their horses are small, and they have no saddles, arms, or accoutrements, proper for that service: their small arms have been mentioned already; they carry a shield made of light cane covered with a buffalo's hide for their defence: as for their artillery, the great guns are of a large bore, but their powder is so weak they seldom do much execution with them: they divide their armies into several regiments and battalions; and those again into companies of two hundred men each, with three officers equivalent to our Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign.

No law
yers.

Here are no lawyers, attornies, or bayliffs in this country, but every one exhibits his complaint in person, and speedy justice is executed as in other Mahometan countries. Indeed in criminal matters they are frequently allowed to do themselves justice; whoever takes a murderer, adulterer, or robber, in the fact, may execute him himself; and it is said the highwaymen in this country hardly ever murder those they rob, except in their own defence. House-breakers easily break in here, the houses being so slightly built of wood; but surely the story of charming those they rob was carried thither by our European Missionaries, it being so like the tales of this nature among the vulgar here: by repeating some unintelligible words, or touching the party with a wand, the Missionaries tell us, the people who are robbed will lie still with their eyes open, without having the power to speak or stir; and sometimes the charm will throw them into a fit of laughter, which will continue for several hours. This I had not troubled my reader with the repetition of, but to give him an opportunity to laugh in his turn at the Fathers who first make and then report these idle stories, which none but their own credulous disciples can surely be ever imposed upon by.

Charms.

The daughters have no portion upon their marriage, nor any thing settled upon them by their husbands, but the presents made them before marriage: the ceremony, it seems, is performed by a priest; after which, while all the guests are re-joining at the wife's father's for three days, the new married couple are shut up in an apartment by themselves, having only a servant to bring them what they want; and at the end of the three days the bride and bridegroom come out of their apartment, and receive the congratulations of their friends: after which the bridegroom carries his bride to his own house, where she immediately applies herself to housewifery and the business of the family, the ladies here not being indulged in that lazy way they are in most other eastern nations. If the woman survives her husband and has no children, she retains one half of the presents which were made her, and the other goes to the father or mother of her husband: if she has children she keeps the whole, and has the disposal of the children as she sees fit; unless she marries again, and then she has but a third part of the jewels, &c. Where the parents die without disposing of their effects, they are divided among the sons; and if no sons, among the daughters, but they never share the inheritance with the brothers, only they are maintained by them till they marry: those slaves they have are divided and disposed of as other goods, upon the decease of their master; and where there are vassals or villains belonging to an estate, they descend with the inheritance.

CHAP.
XIV.Marr-
ages.Inher-
itances.

A man has no more to do if he desires to be divorced, but to repair to the Priest and acquaint him with the case; and if there be the least colour to suspect the woman of levity, or but an unguarded conduct, it is never denied; and the divorce is pronounced by the secular Judge, who settles the conditions of it, after which either party are at liberty to marry again.

Divorce.

Their concubines occasioning all the uneasiness between the men and their wives, persons of quality generally insist upon their being kept in an apartment distinct from the house; and such a spirit are the Macassar ladies of, that there are instances of the wife's stabbing the beloved concubine to the heart in the husband's arms.

Their ceremonies on their purifications and circumcision of their children, will be taken notice of in other Mahometan countries, and are therefore omitted here. As to their funerals, the meanest persons make some preparation, and lay up money to defray the expence of them while they are in full health; and they are in nothing more profuse and lavish than in their funerals: when any dangerous symptoms appear in their sickness, they apply no more to the Physician, but send for their Priests, who have recourse to prayers and exorcisms, attributing the disease to the practices of some evil spirit: they write also the names of God and MAHOMET on little scrolls of paper, and hang them about the patient's neck; and if these have no effect, they proceed to prepare him for his dissolution.

Funerals.

The person being dead, his corpse is washed and perfumed, and clothed in a white robe with a turbant on his head, and set in a chamber hung with white, which is constantly perfumed with incense and aromatick gums: he is carried on a couch or palanquin to the burying place by his slaves, and followed by the Priests, perfumes and incense being burnt all the way they pass; the corpse is interred without a coffin, and covered only

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only with the plank on which it lay, and the earth thrown in upon it. A tomb is afterwards erected, suitable to the quality of the deceased, adorned with flowers; and perfumes burnt for forty days: after which a noble entertainment is prepared for those who come to pay their last devoirs to the deceased.

CHAP. XV.

Treats of the situation and produce of the islands of Banda, Amboyna, and the Molucca's, usually called the Spice Islands.

CHAP.
XV.Names of
the Banda
islands.

THE islands of Banda are first, Banda Proper, which gives name to the rest, and yet is itself frequently called Lantor from the chief town upon it, 2. Pooloway, 3. Pooloroon, 4. Nero, 5. Rofinging, and 6. Gonapi: there are also several other small islands which go under the name of Banda, but are not thought worth the notice of travellers.

Their si-
tuation.

These islands lie from three degrees and a half, to the fifth degree of south latitude, having the island of Ceram to the north, the island of Celebes or Macassar on the west, the Ocean on the east and south, and are distant from Amboyna about 25 leagues.

Gonapi.

The island of Gonapi is severed from Nero but by a very small channel; these, together with the island of Banda or Lantor, make a very commodious harbour.

Nero.

The castle of Nero, or Nassau, stands on a plain close by the water-side; it is large and well fortified, but on the land-side there is a rising ground about a musket shot distance which commands it; for which reason the Dutch have built another strong fort upon this hill, and they are both defended by numerous garrisons.

Banda
Proper, or
Lantor.

Lantor, or Banda Proper, is the largest and richest of all the islands of Banda, by nature strong as a castle, and almost inaccessible: the town is built on the brow of a steep hill, the ascent to it as difficult as by a ladder, but the Dutch made an easy conquest of it; for while the natives stood to defend their town against one party towards the sea, the Dutch discovered a little creek in another part of the island, where they landed a body of men unperceived, and surprized the natives; who finding the enemy upon their hills above them, forsook their country and fled over to the neighbouring islands.

Poolo-
way.

Pooloway is a perfect paradise, where nutmegs and the most delicious fruits abound; the trees are cut into pleasant walks, and the whole island seems a garden furnished with all manner of varieties. Their only want is springs and rivers, which is supplied in some measure by the frequent rains, and when these fail, the natives import water from Lantor. On the east side of this island the Dutch have a fort called the Revenge, being a regular pentagon, and held to be one of the strongest places the Dutch have in India; and much the pleasantest residence of their Indian Governors.

Poolo.

Pooloroon had neither pleasure or profit, to invite the Dutch to ravish it from the English in the manner they did: the sole design of that expedition was, to engross the whole spice trade to themselves, which they could not easily do while other nations had access to this island.

The largest of these islands is not above twenty

leagues in circumference, and most of them much less.

CHAP.
XV.Volca-
noes.

The many vulcanoes and frequent earthquakes which happen here are very terrible; not a year hardly passes without some mischief done by them, which very much lessens the pleasures the Dutch would otherwise enjoy in this their terrestrial paradise.

Amboyna lies in 3 degrees, 40 min. south latitude, and is about 24 leagues in circumference; she sits as Queen, says Mr HERBERT, between the isles of Banda and the Molucca's, being almost in the form of a crescent, which makes a very fine bay for shipping to ride in: this island is so narrow about the middle, that the natives frequently hawl their barges over a little sandy plain from one sea to the other.

Amboyna
situation.

It has plenty of fruit, fish, and fresh water, nor is there much want of flesh; but her greatest riches are the cloves, which are now only suffered to grow in this island, the Dutch having rooted them up in the Molucca's.

The castle of Amboyna is quadrangular, defended by outworks and a numerous artillery, with a garrison of seven or eight hundred men: this is looked upon to be the best government the Dutch have in India next to Batavia.

In Amboyna, besides cloves, there are oranges, lemons, sugar-canes, cocones, and other fruits; they have also potatoes and some tobacco; but the Dutch are so far from encouraging any plantations, or making any improvements in the spice islands, that they endeavour to render them as barren as possible, that the natives may depend on them for every thing they want, and no other nation may find a subsistence here if they should attempt to surprize them.

The Molucca Islands, properly so called, are Bachian, Machian, Motyr, Ternate, and Tydore; and lie to the northward of Amboyna, under, or very near, the equinoctial.

Molucca's
names of
them.
Their si-
tuation.
Bachian.

Bachian is situated a little to the southward of the equinoctial; and is called Great Bachian to distinguish it from a little island of the same name which lies near it. Here is a good harbour, and the Dutch have a strong fort called Barnevelt, built with stone to defend the entrance of it. The island abounds in sago, fruit, and fish, and had formerly its share of cloves.

Machian lies almost under the equator, but rather to the northward of it: this is very high land, in form of a sugar loaf, its top reaching above the clouds; it was a very fertile country formerly, and yielded the Dutch the greatest revenue of any of the Molucca's. They have three forts here, seated on inaccessible rocks: the ships used to take in their goods at the fort Noffaquia, there being no riding for ships near any other part of the island: here is said to be a clove tree differing from all others, and much esteemed for its variety and goodness, there being no other like it in all the Molucca's. The fruit of this tree is not to be purchased for money; but is sent by the Governor to his friends, by handfuls and half-handfuls, as the most acceptable present he can make.

Machian.

Motyr very much resembles Machian in its form and height, but is not so large: it lies about half a degree to the northward of the line; the Dutch have a fort at the north end of it: this island formerly produced great quantities of cloves; but not so much as Machian.

Motyr.

Tydore

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XV.
Tydore.

Tydore lies very little to the northward of Motyr, and is upwards of thirty miles in circumference; the chief town is of the same name, and has been a tolerable good harbour; but such a chain of rocks lie before it, that the entrance is very hazardous: the town is strongly situated by nature, but the Dutch have made it much stronger by art, having fortified it after the modern way.

Ternate.

Ternate, the principal island of the Molucca's, lies in one degree of north latitude, and is about eight leagues in circumference; the chief towns whereof are Gamolamo, Malayo, Tallaco, and Tycone: the road of Gamolamo, where the shipping usually rides, is not good. The first fort the Dutch built here was Tallaco, the next the strong castle of Orange, after which they looked upon themselves to be so well fixed, that they defied all the nations of Europe to dispossess them, and have used them accordingly, as will appear hereafter.

Molucca's, their produce.

In the Molucca's they have neither corn or rice, or hardly any butchers meat, but goats flesh. They eat chiefly fago, the pith of a tree made into cakes instead of bread; and their ordinary drink is water, though they have some strong liquors which they draw from the bambou and the coco-tree. Here are also almonds, oranges, and lemons, and other delicious fruits; but what is peculiar to these islands, and in return for which they were once furnished with the produce of every other country, is their cloves. This tree bears within eight years after it is planted, and resembles the bay-tree; the fruit grows in clusters at the end of the branch, where it hangeth like a bunch of grapes; the bud is first white, afterwards it turns green, then red; and when it is full ripe, brown; they dry them in the sun after they are gathered, which makes them almost black. No grass, or herb, will grow under the branches of this tree, and it dries up all the moisture near it, inasmuch that a heap of cloves laid in a room after they are gathered, 'tis said, will suck up a tub of water; and this is a method the Dutch seamen often take, it seems, to swell and increase their bulk, when they have robbed their masters. It is called by the natives Chamque, but the Spaniards gave it the name of Clavos, from its likeness to a nail.

Produce of Banda.

The Banda Islands are as famous for nutmegs, as the Molucca's and Amboyna are for cloves. The nutmeg-tree is like the peach, only its leaves are rounder and something less. The fruit is enclosed in a thick rind like a walnut, under this is a leaf which covers the shell, and is what we call mace, and within this lies the nutmeg.

Wild beasts there are none in these islands, and very few others. Their birds are parrots, cockatoes, and the bird of paradise, which has the most beautiful feathers of any bird that flies, and is said not to be found in any other part of the world. Here are some snakes of an unusual bigness, but not so venomous as in other places. There are very few rivers; but the want of them is supplied by the frequent showers which water the earth, and create a perpetual verdure.

There are four islands, much larger than any of the Spice Islands, which lie near them, but produce neither cloves or nutmegs, or such small quantities as are not worth mentioning: these are Gilolo, sometimes reckoned among the Molucca's, Ceram, Bourou, and Bouton.

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Gilolo, frequently called Batochina, lies from two degrees north, to one degree of south latitude, a little to the eastward of the islands of Ternate, and Tydore, and is upwards of two hundred miles in length, but not above fifty broad in most places. It is divided by three deep bays which make it appear like so many several islands at a little distance; and in these bays are very safe riding for ships.

Ceram lies in three degrees south latitude, having the islands of Amboyna, and Banda, on the south, from either of which it is not many leagues distant, and the island of Gilolo, and the Molucca's on the north: it stretches from east to west, being about fifty leagues in length, but not twenty in breadth: it is high land and very woody. The chief town is Cambello, where their King resides: but the Dutch have a fortress here, and both King and people are vassals and slaves to them. It is observable that the people of this, and all the neighbouring islands, were formerly accounted cannibals, tho' all the foundation there seems to be for this opinion, was their barbarous usage of some Christians who fell into their hands; as roasting them alive, and putting them to very cruel deaths. The most intelligent travellers who have visited these countries, give us to understand, that this cruel treatment was occasioned by the insolence and hard usage several of the natives met with from the Portuguese and Dutch: and I do not find one man among all the Europeans who have ever resorted to these parts, that ever was witness to this savage custom of eating their own species; and if human flesh was such delicious food to them as is pretended, they would certainly sometimes have made a meal of their enemies; but though they had constant wars for many years among themselves, to which the Europeans were witnesses, and often saw them return in triumph with the heads of their enemies, not one of our travellers pretend to say they ever saw them eat any of their captives. They frequently also surprized and cut in pieces both Portuguese and Dutch, when they were oppressed, and their liberties invaded; and yet, I do not find they ever devoured one of these, so that I am inclined to think there is very little credit to be given to these stories of cannibals.

Bouro lies in four degrees of south latitude, having Ceram on the east, and the island of Bouton towards the south-west, and is about twenty leagues in length, and ten in breadth. The Dutch have a fort here also, and are masters of the island.

Bouton lies in 5 degrees 40 min. of south latitude, and is about four or five leagues distant from the south-east part of the island of Celebes, or Macassar; it is twenty-five leagues long, and ten broad, stretching north-east, and south-west. The harbour lies on the east side of the island, in four degrees fifty minutes south latitude. The land is high, but even and well covered with wood. The chief town is Callafung, fortified with a stone wall, and the houses are built like those of Mindanao; the streets clean and spacious.

But to return to the Spice Islands, however fruitful those of Banda once were, according to a modern author, the Dutch have taken care that they shall no more produce the necessaries of life; they choose to send them their provisions every year from Batavia, rather than they should have them of their own growth, which is looked upon

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Gilolo, situation and extent.

Ceram.

Cannibals, whether any such people.

Bourou.

Bouton.

The Spice Islands destitute now of all the necessaries of life.

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to be the most effectual way to secure their possession; for if an enemy should surprize them, he would now find it impossible to subsist there, especially as they are masters of all the neighbouring countries, from whence they used to be supplied.

All the
cloves in
the Mo-
ucca's
rooted up.

As for the Molucca's, they have actually rooted up all the cloves in them, because they lay dispersed and exposed to the attempts of other nations: while their dominions were so far extended, they were apprehensive they might be dispossessed of them in their turns, as they themselves had dispossessed the Portuguese: for this reason they encouraged the planting of cloves in Amboyna only, which have increased to such a degree, that that island alone is now sufficient to serve the whole world with cloves. Here therefore their garrisons are so strong, that possibly no nation will ever attempt to reduce them.

The King
a vassal to
the Dutch,
and the
people
miserable
slaves.

Ternate they look upon now only as a frontier town, and necessary to be kept in their possession, lest it should be planted again by foreigners, and therefore when they had dethroned that King, and sufficiently humbled him, they permitted him to resume his title again, and so much of his authority as was necessary to keep his subjects from being troublesome to them; and because he has no subsistence, since the cloves have been rooted up, they allow him and some few of his Ministers pensions. The rest of the natives are the most miserable of mankind, not being allowed to cultivate their lands, lest some foreign Prince should think them worth his protection.

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Treats of the first inhabitants of the Spice Islands, and of the several people which have successively possessed them; and particularly of the practices of the Hollanders, to exclude all other nations from that beneficial trade: and in order to this, a view is here taken of the first voyages made by the Portuguese, Spaniards, English, and Dutch, to the East-Indies.

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XVI.

First inhabitants of the Spice Islands.

Spices, &c. brought to the Mediterranean by the Arabians.

THE first inhabitants of the Spice Islands were probably the Chinese, for in the earliest accounts we have of these islands, we find them under the dominion of that empire, and the inhabitants of the inland country still retain a great deal of their manners and customs.

Europe has for above two thousand years partook of their delicious spices, though it is not much above two hundred that we have been acquainted with the islands themselves, where they grew. The Persians, Arabians, and Egyptians, used to bring them to the ports in the Mediterranean; and hither the Venetians, the Genoese, and Catalans resorted to buy the spices and silks of India, which they again dispersed all over Europe at a most extravagant profit.

Arabians
send colonies to the
Oriental
Islands.

The Moors or Mahometans of Arabia, and the neighbouring countries, in order to engross this trade to themselves, and at the same time propagate their religion in the east, sent numerous colonies to the Oriental Islands, drove the first inhabitants up into the mountains and inaccessible places, planting themselves upon the sea-coasts, and in time became strong enough to subdue the natives, compelling them to embrace their religion and submit to their government. Under the dominion of these Arabian Moors or Mahometans, were most of the Oriental Islands when the

Portuguese first discovered a passage to India by the Cape of Good-Hope: nor was it without infinite labour and patience that that discovery was made; the greatest inducements to which enterprise, was the hopes of becoming masters of the spices and other rich treasures of the East; no hazards or fatigues were thought too great to obtain the property of these; the very transporting whereof from Cairo and Alexandria brought such immense wealth to some little commonwealths in the Mediterranean. But to be a little more particular.

It was about the year 1418, that Prince HENRY, third son of JOHN King of Portugal, first sent out ships for discovering the western coast of Africa, and until the year 1486, did the Portuguese continue to prosecute their discoveries to the southward, when King JOHN II. sent out BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ, who discovered the most southern promontory of Africk, by the Admiral named, CABO TORRENTOSO, from the tempestuous weather he met with there; but King JOHN named it the Cape of Good-Hope at his return, having great hopes now of discovering a way to the East-Indies.

First attempt to sail round Africk, 1418.

Cape discovered, 1486.

In the year 1487, King JOHN II. dispatched PEDRO COVILLAN by land to India, who went first to Alexandria, from thence to Cairo, and so to Aden, where he took shipping in the Arabian fleet, and arrived at Calicut, on the western side of India; he afterwards sailed back with the Arabs to Sofala, on the coast of Africa, in 20 deg. south latitude, and sent the King of Portugal a map of that coast, but did not live to return to Portugal.

COVILLAN travels to India by land, 1487.

The famous COLUMBUS residing in Portugal at this time, and having sailed with the Portuguese in some of their expeditions, being encouraged by the success the Portuguese had met with in their discoveries to the south-east, and from some intelligence he had met with of timber and human bodies different from what had been ever seen in Europe, drove ashore on the Azores and other western islands in the Atlantick Ocean, proposed to the King of Portugal the making discoveries westward; but it seems his proposals were rejected at that court: hereupon he applied himself to the court of Castile, and after several years tedious attendance there, he did at length obtain three ships from King FERDINAND, in the year 1492, with which he began that famous voyage, wherein he discovered the new world, of which I shall speak more at large when I come to treat of America.

COLUMBUS discovers America, 1492.

To return to our East-Indian discoveries, the Spaniards and Portuguese having agreed that all the western discoveries should belong to Spain, and the eastern discoveries to Portugal, DON EMANUEL King of Portugal sent VASCO DI GAMA in the year 1497, with three ships to trace out a way to the East-Indies; but his men mutinying at the hazard of the undertaking when they were at sea, it was with great difficulty that he persuaded them to pass the Cape of Good-Hope, which he did on the 20th of November, 1497. He afterwards sailed to the northward till he arrived at Mosambique, in the latitude of 15, where he found seven sail of ships manned by Arabians, who treated them very freely at first, imagining they had been of the same faith, and of the same or some neighbouring country with themselves, it never entering into their thoughts that the Europeans had found a way round Africa into their

GAMA first doubles the Cape of Good Hope, 1497.

Comes to Mosambique.

CHAP. XVI. their seas. It was observable, that these Moors had the mariners compass, with sea cards and quadrants, which were not known to the Europeans till about the time that COLUMBUS ventured on that voyage to America; and 'tis thought by some, that we were first let into these improvements by the eastern nations. To proceed, the Arabians no sooner understood that GAMA and his men were Christians, but they did them all manner of ill offices, well foreseeing that if the Europeans should proceed to India, it would in time be the ruin of their trade.

Melinda. From Mosambique, DI GAMA sailed for Melinda, in the latitude of two degrees south, where he arrived on Easter-day, 1498, here he found some Christians of India, and met with a kind reception, and procured a pilot to sail with him to India.

Arrives at Calicut, 1498. On the 19th of May 1498, he made the high mountains near Calicut, and the same day arrived within two miles of the town; the next day he sent a person ashore to acquaint the King of Calicut with his arrival, at which the King was at first overjoyed, imagining he should find a considerable increase of his customs, which are his principal revenues, by the arrival of another people in his ports; but the Moors or Arabians justly apprehending the loss of their Indian trade, if these strangers were entertained by that Prince, represented them as pirates, or spies at best, who came to discover his weakness; and by bribing the principal men about the court, they set the King so much against the Portuguese, that he ordered some of GAMA's men to be seized and detained a shore; whereupon GAMA, to procure satisfaction, made prize of one of the ships in the road, in which he took several persons; but finding no probability of establishing a trade here at that time, he set sail for Portugal again, where he arrived in the year 1499, bringing with him one MONZAIDA a merchant of Tunis whom he found at Calicut; from whom the Portuguese learnt many material articles concerning the Indian trade.

Moors hinder his settling a trade there.

Another fleet sent out by Portugal 1500. King EMANUEL soon after fitted out another fleet, consisting of thirteen sail; and fifteen hundred soldiers, under the command of PETER ALVAREZ CAPRALIS, who sailed from Lisbon the 8th of March 1500, and on the 23d of April following first discovered the coast of Brazil, and finding a good harbour there, he gave it the name of Porto Seguro; where he staid till the 5th of May, and then proceeded in his voyage to Calicut, arriving there the 22d of August following.

Brazil discovered 1500.

CAPRALIS was at first well received by the King of Calicut; but the Moorish faction again prevailing against the Portuguese, the People of the country set upon them in the house the King had assigned for their factory, and killed above fifty of them; to revenge which CAPRALIS attacked a fleet of Moorish ships, and killed six hundred of their men; making slaves of the rest, and seizing all their merchandise, after which he sailed to Cochim, 170 miles to the southward, where he established a factory; and returned to Lisbon the last of July 1502.

First factory of the Portuguese at Cochim 1502.

The King of Portugal, before the return of CAPRALIS had fitted out three other ships for India, which were followed soon after by VASCO DI GAMA a second time with ten ships: SODERUS also was sent out with a squadron of fifteen frigates to attack the Moors, and make himself master of the Indian seas, which was easily effec-

ted, the Moors having few ships of force, nor indeed needing any till now, having no enemy to encounter till the Portuguese found the way to them by the Cape of Good Hope.

The Portuguese proceeded to endeavour the settling a trade at Malacca; but the natives, incited by the Moors, proved treacherous, surprizing forty of their men on shore, and attacking their ships in the road, but were beaten off with loss. The famous ALBUQUERQUE not long after laid siege to the city of Goa and took it; and afterwards took Malacca, the King MANCUDIAS being killed in defending it. Whereupon several Indian Princes desired an alliance with the Portuguese, finding they were in no condition to oppose them; and ANTONIUS AMBREUS was sent out in search of the Spice Islands. The two Kings of Ternate and Tydore, the most potent Princes of the Molucca's, courted their friendship, and were ready to refer their differences to them, having long been engaged in wars; and with one or the other of these Princes most of the islands in those seas were confederated. The Portuguese taking advantage of the differences between these Princes, found no great difficulty in settling their factories and building forts; the people being ready to grant them every thing they proposed, in hopes of their alliance. Thus the Portuguese established themselves in the Spice Islands, being the first Europeans that ever arrived there; upon the merit of which they looked upon themselves to be solely entitled to this trade, to the exclusion of all other nations; especially having the Pope's bull, as well as an agreement with the Spaniards, to back their pretensions: and accordingly they stiled themselves lords of the navigation, conquest, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India; and built them forts and cities at convenient distances along the African, Arabian, Persian, and Indian coasts, and particularly in the Spice Islands.

I proceed now to give an account of the succeeding European nations which have traded thither.

And among these, the next in time is the Spaniard, who employed the famous MAGELLANS to make discoveries westward: this commander having sailed through the streights of Magellan, so called from the discoverer, passed through the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean, and arrived at the islands of Ladrone the 6th of March, 1520. He afterwards made the Philippines, where he was unfortunately killed, but his ships arrived at Ternate, the chief of the Molucca Islands, on the 8th of November, 1521. being about ten years after the first arrival of the Portuguese here. The King of Tydore suffered the Spaniards to settle a factory in his country; and they left one of their ships behind them either to be refitted or to attend the business of the factory: and as all discoveries westward were to belong to the Spaniards, they looked upon themselves to be entitled at least to a share of the trade of these islands.

However, the Portuguese without any ceremony, made prize of the Spanish ship that was left there soon after, and ruined their factory. They also erected forts at Ternate, Amboyna, and Banda, in order to bridle the natives and secure the spice trade to themselves: these proceedings gave great offence to the Spaniards; however, after they had contested this matter with the Portuguese for seven or eight years, the Emperor CHARLES the Vth having great occasion for a

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Goa taken by ALBUQUERQUE and Malacca, 1511.

Spice Islands discovered, and factories settled there by the Portuguese.

Spaniards sail westward, and claim the privilege of trading thither, 1521.

Beaten out by the Portuguese.

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I A P. VI. fum of money, mortgaged all his interest in the Spice trade to the Portuguese, in the year 1529. for 350,000 ducats, which were never repaid by Spain.

FRAN- The next European nation which visited the Spice islands was the English, under the command of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, who set sail from Plymouth the 13th of December, 1577, with five ships and an hundred and sixty-four men, among whom were several gentlemen of quality, one of whom, Mr THOMAS DOUGHTY, was tried by a Court Martial, and executed at Port St Julian near the streights of Magellan, where they found a gallows that had been erected by MAGELLAN, on which some of his mutineers had been executed before: what Mr DOUGHTY's crime was, does not appear to me; but it seems DRAKE was severely censured by the people at his return for this execution.

On the 17th of July, 1578, DRAKE failed from St Julian, and the 20th came to the streights of Magellan through which he passed, and the 6th of September entered the South Sea; after which he was driven by a storm into 57 degrees south latitude, and lost company of one of his ships commanded by Captain WINTER, who returned back to England through the streights of Magellan.

Sir F. DRAKE afterwards failed northward, and arrived at Lima in Peru, which lies in 11 deg. 50 min. south lat. on the 13th of February. Here lay twelve sail of Spanish merchant ships, very secure, as they thought, having never seen an enemy in those seas: these DRAKE plundered of what treasure they had, but having intelligence of a rich ship called the Cacafogo, which was loaden with nothing else but treasure; he set sail from thence and came up with her about 150 leagues from Panama: she made little resistance, and he took out of her thirteen chests full of rials of plate, fourcore pound weight of gold, and six and twenty tun of silver, besides a great quantity of jewels and precious stones.

Sir F. DRAKE having failed into 43 degrees north latitude, and observing the weather to be excessive cold, returned into 36 degrees, where he found a commodious bay, and was hospitably entertained by the people; and the King resigned his crown into DRAKE's hands, desiring his country might be taken into the Queen of England's protection. The Admiral thereupon gave this kingdom the name of Nova Albion, being the north-west part of that country, now called California: here he set up a pillar with a plate upon it, on which was engraven her Majesty's name, the time of their being there, with an account of this Prince's resignation of his dominions to the Queen of England; and if there be those mines of gold and silver which DRAKE's company apprehended there were, it seems a little strange we have never sent a colony thither, especially since the Spaniards had never been in the country at that time, or even discovered the land for many degrees to the southward of this place.

From hence DRAKE failed for the East-Indies, and arrived at the Molucca islands the 14th of November, 1579. The next day he sent a present to the King of Ternate, acquainting him that he was come to trade with his people, which message appeared very acceptable to his Ternatian Majesty, who very much desired to be taken under the protection of the Queen of England, being weary of the insolent behaviour of the Portu-

gueze, who pretended to debar his subjects from trading with any other nation but themselves; and as a testimony of his submission to the Queen, gave the Admiral his signet. This island of Ternate is the chief of the Molucca's, and there are said to be above seventy other islands under the dominion of this Prince; therefore if the cession of the reigning Prince could confer a title, no European nation could make a better claim to the Molucca's than the English, to whom they were thus voluntarily surrendered without the least appearance of compulsion: the Admiral having had several conferences with the King and the chief men in the country, and being splendidly entertained, after he had taken in a good quantity of cloves set sail for England, where he arrived the 3d of November, 1580, having been out almost three years. This year the kingdoms of Castile and Portugal became united under one head.

In the year 1587, Mr CAVENDISH made another voyage round the world, pursuing Admiral DRAKE's course through the streights of Magellan; and having touched at the Molucca's found the natives desirous of trading with the English; from hence he failed to Java, and afterwards returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope.

The first voyage the Dutch made to the Oriental islands was in the year 1595, when the city of Amsterdam fitted out four ships for the East-Indies, and in June 1596, they arrived at Bantam in the island of Java, where they had a house assigned them for a factory; but the Bantamese afterwards, at the instigation of the Portuguese, took several of their men prisoners, whereupon the Dutch made reprisals by seizing three or four vessels in the harbour, and then fell to battering the town. From hence the Dutch failed to Jacatra, now Batavia, a little to the westward of Bantam, where they met with better usage, and having taken in a cargo of spices, and such other goods as they could pick up thereabouts, returned to Holland the 11th of August, 1597, not having seen the Spice islands in this voyage.

In the year 1598, OLIVER NOORT, a Dutchman, failed through the streights of Magellan, into the South Sea, and returned home by the Cape of Good Hope; but I do not find he so much as touched at the Spice islands.

In the year 1599 the Hollanders set out another fleet of eight ships, under the command of Admiral NECCIUS, who failed to Bantam, and was better received than his countrymen had been two years before: the Portuguese having been expelled the place on a quarrel between them and the natives. Here four ships took in their loading of pepper, and the other four under the command of Admiral WARWICK, failed for the Molucca's the 8th of January, and on the 3d of March arrived at Amboyna, two of them took in their lading of cloves there, and at Ternate, and the other two failed to Banda, where they settled a factory, as the other ships did at Ternate, and freighted themselves with nutmegs and mace, returning to Holland in the beginning of the year 1600.

Before these ships arrived, the Dutch had set out three ships more for the East-Indies, under the command of VAN HAGAN; they also dispatched the four ships again that returned with Admiral NECCIUS, as soon as they were unladen: however, to this time, none but the citizens of Amsterdam, or the subjects of the province of Holland, had concerned themselves in the Indian trade;

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Spain and Portugal united 1580.

Mr CAVENDISH touches at the Molucca's.

First voyage of the Dutch to the East-Indies, 1595.

Second voyage of the Dutch, 1598.

The first trade the Dutch had with the Spice islands, 1599.

Only the province of Holland concerned in the trade, till the year 1600.

Arrives at the Spice islands.

King of Ternate resigns his country to the Queen of Eng.

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Now several other companies send out fleets.

Who are all united.

The Dutch beat the Portuguese out of all their forts and factories but Goa

Second voyage of Admiral NECCIUS 1602.

He is beaten by the Portuguese at the Molucca's.

Dutch take their fort at Amboyna, 1605.

And another at Tydore.

Dutch beaten out of the Molucca's by the Spaniards.

The Dutch cut to pieces great numbers

trade; but upon their success several other companies started up, and fitted out ships for India, and carried on a trade by separate stocks, inasmuch that the Indian seas swarmed with Dutch vessels. The States apprehending it would prove of great advantage to their country, if they were all united; because they would thereby be in a condition to repel any force the Spaniards or Portuguese might raise to attack them in the Indian seas, in the year 1601 they were all formed into one corporation, or company, in which Amsterdam was allotted one half of the stock, Middleburgh a fourth share, and the cities of Delft, Rotterdam, Enchuyzen, and Hoorn, each of them a sixteenth share in the capital stock; the whole amounting at that time to six millions of florins.

With this treasure, and their united forces, they manned out strong fleets to the East-Indies, and being an over-match for the Portuguese, fell upon their ships wherever they met them, and took one place after another, till they hardly left them a fort or factory in India; but the time and manner of their dispossessing the Portuguese, I shall speak of as the respective towns and countries come in my way, and confine myself at present to the Spice islands.

Admiral NECCIUS failed a second time, with a fleet under his command from Holland, and arrived at Bantam in March 1602; from whence he failed to the Molucca's, to attack the Portuguese fleet; but in this attempt he did not succeed, for the Portuguese obliged him to retire. However in the year 1605, the Dutch having a fleet of twelve ships under the command of VAN HAGEN, routed the Portuguese, and made themselves masters of their fort of Amboyna: part of their fleet afterwards failed to Tydore, and attacked a fortress the Portuguese had in that island, and the magazine of powder in the castle happening to blow up, and destroy great part of the wall, the Dutch had a much easier conquest than they expected.

The Spaniard, who had hitherto been restrained from attempting any thing against the Molucca's, as well from his own agreement with Portugal, as the Pope's prohibition, thought himself at liberty, on the expulsion of the Portuguese, and the accession of the Dutch, to try his fortune against their High Mightinesses, and accordingly, having fitted out a strong fleet from the Philippines, attacked the forts in the Molucca's, and re-took them from the Hollanders, within a year after they had been in their possession. However, the Dutch soon got footing there again, as allies to the Ternatians, and between the Kings of Ternate and Tydore, or rather between the Spaniards and the Dutch, the wars continued in the Molucca's for many years.

In the year 1609, they fitted out a very strong fleet, with land forces on board, and arriving at Banda, their Admiral demanded leave of the Oran Caya's, or states of the country, to build a fort in Nero, to defend them, as they pretended, from the insults of the Portuguese and Spaniards; but the Bandanefe, alarmed at the proposal, as well as the great fleet they saw upon their coasts, and justly apprehending their liberties to be in imminent danger, absolutely refused to comply with the high and mighty demand: whereupon the Dutch, not troubling themselves much about the justice of the enterprize, made a descent with a good body of troops, fell upon the Bandanefe, and cut off great numbers of them. The Bandanefe

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finding it impossible to defend themselves against so great a force, pretended to submit to the building a fort; but the Dutch desiring to treat farther with them, upon the point of excluding all other nations, the natives drew the Admiral VAREHEUF and several of his officers into a wood, where having laid an ambuscade they cut them in pieces. This gave the Dutch some pretence for a war with that people; nor did they ever desist till they had reduced them to a state of slavery. The natives, as the best expedient to preserve their expiring liberties, implored the protection of the English, who had traded to these islands some years, as will appear hereafter, and the States, or Oran Caya's of the several islands, made a formal surrender of their country to King JAMES I. Nor could it ever have entered into the heart of man to believe a nation, just saved from destruction by the arms of England, as the Dutch then were, could have been guilty of such ingratitude, of such horrid injustice and cruelty, towards a people to whom they were indebted for their very being, as they practised on this occasion! Such cruelties are not to be paralleled in the Christian, or even in the Heathen world, amongst those nations we esteem most barbarous.

But before I proceed to a relation of these facts, I shall in order to the better understanding, of the several transactions, give an account of the rise and establishment of the English East-India trade, and of their voyages thither: from whence it will appear, that England had a much better right to the trade, and even the dominion of the Spice islands, than the ungrateful Dutch, or any other European nation could ever pretend to.

I have already mentioned Admiral DRAKE's sailing to the Molucca's, long before the Dutch used those seas, and of the King of Ternate's putting himself under the protection of the English, to avoid the insults and oppression of the Portuguese. I come now to shew the progress this nation soon after made in the Indian trade.

In the year 1583, RALPH FITCH of London, merchant, went by the way of Tripoli in Syria to Ormus, and so to Goa in the East-Indies; from thence he failed to Bengal, Pegu, Siam, and Malacca: he also visited the island of Ceylon, and the cities of Cochin and Callicut; after which he returned to Ormus, and so through Turkey to Tripoli, where he embarked for England, arriving in his own country again the 29th of April, 1591.

He had sent before him a very particular account of the trade, product, and manufactures of the East-Indies, which induced several merchants of London to fit out ships, to follow the Portuguese thither by the way of the Cape of Good Hope.

The first voyage the English attempted to the East-Indies round the Cape, was with three ships, viz. The Penelope, Admiral; the Merchant Royal, Vice-Admiral; and the Bonaventure, Rear-Admiral; commanded by Capt. RAYMOND, Capt. JAMES LANCASTER, and Capt. KENDAL.

These ships set sail from England the tenth of April, 1591, and arrived at the Canaries the 25th; the 2d of May they made Cape Blanco, on the coast of Africk; the 13th they were within eight degrees of the Equinoctial, when they met with contrary winds; however, they crossed the line the 6th of June, and about the same time took a merchant-ship of Lisbon, which had in her a

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of the Bandanefe, and build a fort by force.

The Bandanefe put themselves under the protection of England.

First voyage of the English to the East-Indies.

1583. Mr Fitch's voyage to India by the Levant.

First voyage of the English to India by the Cape, 1591.

glorious

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glorious cargo of wine, oil, and olives, and other good provision. While they were near the Line their men grew very sickly, occasioned by the heat and wetness of the season, and they had perpetual tornadoes, with thunder and lightning. The wind being at south-east they stood over for the coast of Brasil, till they came into 26 degrees south latitude, where the wind came about to the north, and then they bore away for the Cape of Good Hope, where they arrived the 28th of July.

When they landed, the Negroes would not come near them at first; but afterwards they brought down large oxen and sheep, of which they bought enough to supply their wants: and an ox, it seems, might be had for a couple of knives, and a sheep for one; the cattle being large, and in good case, but not very fat.

Having lost many of their men, they sent the Royal Merchant back to England; after which Capt. RAYMOND and Capt. LANCASTER with the other two ships pursued their voyage.

The 14th of September they met with a furious storm which parted them, and the Admiral was never heard of more.

Four days after this storm, they had a terrible clap of thunder, which killed four men outright, their necks being perfectly wrung asunder, according to Capt. LANCASTER's expression; and of ninety-four men they had aboard, there was not one untouched; some were struck blind, others bruised in their legs and arms, or breasts, so that they voided blood for two days after, and others were stretched out at length, as if they had been extended on the rack: however, they all recovered but the first four, who were killed outright.

By the same thunder-clap their main-mast was strangely torn from the top down to the deck; and some iron spikes which were ten inches in the timber, were melted by the lightning.

After this they took in fresh water at Comoro, where the King came on board, and the people treated them with great civility for some time; but at length they took an opportunity when the boat went ashore for water, to fall upon the men, and cut two and thirty of them to pieces in fight of the ship; and the Captain having no other boat found it impossible to relieve them. They failed from hence the seventh of November, and came to Zanzibar, a Portuguese factory, where they built a new boat, and continued till the 15th of February; but the Portuguese understanding they were English, would have no commerce with them; and it seems had informed the country people that the English were cannibals, and deterred them from dealing with them.

In May, 1592, they doubled Cape Comorin, the most southern promontory of India; and six days after came to the Nicobar Islands; from thence they failed to the islands of Poolo Pisang, in six degrees and half north latitude, and five leagues from the coast of Malacca. Here they continued till the end of August, and lost twenty-six more of their men by sickness; so that they were not now in a condition to undertake any thing considerable, therefore having made prize of some Portuguese ships they met with on the coast of Malacca, they failed for England, and came to St Helena, the third of April, 1593.

After they left St Helena they were reduced to very great distress, inasmuch that they lived upon skins and hides they had on board, till they ar-

rived at St Domingo; where the Captain and most of his men going ashore to find provision, their ship drove away to sea with five men and a boy; and the Captain, after he had remained a considerable time on the island, got a passage to England in a French vessel, and arrived in his own country again, the 24th of May, 1594. One reason of this voyage proving so unfortunate, it seems, was their setting out at the wrong season of the year: this was the reason of their meeting with more bad weather, and contrary winds, and calms, than usual, and occasioned the sickness of their crews.

The next voyage of the English was still more unfortunate; not one of the company returning to give an account of what became of the rest. In this also were three ships fitted out chiefly at the charge of Sir ROBERT DUDLEY, and commanded by Captain WOOD: they set sail from England in the year 1596, and were designed for China, having Queen ELIZABETH's letter to that Emperor.

All that ever we could learn of them, was from an intercepted letter of the Auditor's of the royal audience of St Domingo, and Judge of Porto Rico, written to the King of Spain, and his council of the Indies.

The Auditor acquaints his Majesty, that there went three ships out of England for the Portuguese East-Indies, (as he calls them) and in their voyage took three Portuguese ships, subjects to his Majesty: (for Spain and Portugal were at this time both under the dominion of one prince, and at war with England) that one of the Portuguese ships which were taken came from Goa, and the English took from the Captain a very rich stone designed for his Majesty, and several other jewels, with a great deal of treasure. That some time after there happened such a sickness among the English sailors, that of all the three ships companies but four men remained alive; who getting together the most valuable goods they had taken in the prizes, went into their boat and landed at an island three leagues from St Domingo. Three of the Englishmen went over to St Domingo for fresh water, leaving one of their comrades, whom their Auditor calls GEORGE, upon the little island where Don RODRIGO DE FUENTES, and six other Spaniards found him, and understood what rich jewels and treasure they were possessed of. Soon after the other three Englishmen returned, and the Spaniards pretended great friendship for them, and eat, drank, and slept with them for some time; till at length the Spaniards agreed to surprize the English, and cut their throats, and divide the treasure amongst them, and accordingly they killed three of them; but the fourth, one THOMAS, made his escape, and on a piece of timber passed over to the island of St Domingo.

However, Don RODRIGO and his companions, imagining they should hear no more of him, went to the Governor of St Domingo, and carried him some of the bars of silver and silks they had taken, making oath that this was the whole prize, though they had concealed the stone sent to the King, with all the gold and jewels: they pretended also, that they had killed the three Englishmen fairly in fight, and, consequently, had a right to the goods; but THOMAS, the surviving Englishman, at length finding his way to the city of Domingo, the whole villany was discovered, and Don RODRIGO made to produce the rest of his treasure; only the stone designed for the King, and

CHAP. XVI.

Lost their ship, and come home in a French vessel.

1596, Second voyage still more unfortunate.

Some account of it from the Spaniards.

A mortality among the sailors.

Those that remained alive murdered by Spaniards.

Portuguese give out the English are cannibals. They come to the Nicobar Islands, and the coast of Malacca, where burying more men are forced to return home.

In great distress.

CHAP. XVI. and some other precious stones, he still concealed, though the Spanish Governor proceeded against him and his accomplices with great severity. During this prosecution, it seems, Don RODRIGO procured THOMAS the Englishman, who was evidence against him, to be poisoned by a Physician; which being afterwards made appear, sentence of death was passed upon RODRIGO and his accomplices, but they made their escape out of prison. And this is all the account I could ever meet with of this second unfortunate attempt of the English, to open a trade with India.

English East-India Company first established, ann. 1600. Stock.

But notwithstanding this ill success, the merchants of London were not discouraged from fitting out another fleet for India. However, they first formed themselves into a society, or company, and raised a common stock, amounting to seventy-two thousand pounds: they also obtained letters patents of incorporation, which were dated the 30th of December 43 ELIZ. anno Domini 1600.

Adventurers.

Among the adventurers named in the patent, of whom there were not fewer than one hundred and eighty, were GEORGE Earl of Cumberland, Sir JOHN HART, Sir JOHN SPENCER, Sir DAVID MICHELBURNE, WILLIAM CAVENDISH, Esq; nine Aldermen of London, and the most considerable merchants in England.

Style.

They were styled in their patent, "The Governor and Company of merchants of London, trading to the East-Indies;" and THOMAS SMITH Alderman of London, was constituted the first Governor: there were also a Deputy-Governor and twenty-four Committee-men, or Directors, appointed by the said letters patents, who were to be annually elected for the future.

First Governors.

They had also a power conferred on them to make by-laws, and punish offenders by fine and imprisonment; and no goods they exported were to pay any duties for four years; and all other subjects of England were prohibited to trade within their limits without leave of the company, on pain of forfeiture of ship and goods.

Their powers.

To import as much treasure as they carry out.

And the company engage to bring in every year as great a quantity of gold, silver, and foreign coin as they carry out.

The first fleet set out by the company. Queen's letters.

The company in their first expedition set out four ships commanded by Capt. JAMES LANCASTER, who had the Queen's commission, and an authority to exercise military discipline: Her Majesty also, to encourage the undertaking, sent letters by him to several princes of India, desiring her subjects might be well used, and enjoy a freedom of trade. Capt. LANCASTER, the Admiral as he was then styled, went on board the Dragon, a ship of six hundred tons; the other three ships, namely, the Hector, the Ascension, and the Susan, were commanded by Capt. JOHN MIDDLETON, Capt. WILLIAM BRAND, and Capt. JOHN HAYWARD.

These ships having 480 men on board, set sail from Woolwich in the river Thames the 13th of February, 1600; but were so often put back by contrary winds, that they did not sail from Dartmouth till the 22d of April, 1601, and the 9th of September following arrived at the Cape of Good Hope; when three of their ships had so many men down with the scurvy, that they were not able to let go an anchor, or hoist out their boats till they were assisted by the Admiral, who it is said, preserved his men from that distemper, by giving them three spoonfuls of lime juice every morning fasting. However, by the fresh provi-

sions and garden-stuff they met with here, most of the men soon recovered of the scurvy.

CHAP. XVI. Arrived at Achen, 1602.

They set sail from the Cape the 1st of November, and arrived in Achen road in the island of Sumatra, on the 5th of June 1602, and here the General having delivered her Majesty's letter and presents to the King, obtained very advantageous conditions of trade, which I shall enlarge upon when I come to Sumatra.

Having taken in what pepper, cinnamon, and cloves they could get, the Admiral set sail the 9th of November for Priaman on the west coast of Sumatra, where he took in more pepper and cloves; and from thence came to Bantam the 16th of December, 1602.

Here the Admiral had audience of the King, and having delivered the Queen's letter and the presents, settled a factory, and found vent for the goods he had left, for which he took pepper in return. From hence the captain dispatched a vessel of forty tons, with factors on board, to settle a trade with the Molucca's and Banda, but meeting with contrary winds, they were forced back again to Bantam. The Admiral sailed for England the 22d of February, and arrived in the Downs the 11th of September, 1603.

Return to England, 1603.

Second voyage, 1604.

On the 25th of March, 1604, Capt. HENRY MIDDLETON set sail from Gravesend, with four ships under his command, for the East-Indies; and the 20th of December following arrived at Bantam, where having delivered a letter and present from King JAMES I, to the young King of Bantam, and dispatched two of his ships for England, he sailed himself with the Dragon, and Ascension, for Amboyna; but the Dutch having a little before taken the fort which the Portuguese had built upon that island, would not suffer the inhabitants to trade with the English. From hence the Admiral sent the Ascension to Banda, to take in a freight of nutmegs and mace, and she took in her lading without any molestation from the Dutch there. The Admiral, in the Dragon, sailed to the Molucca's, where he found the Kings of Ternate and Tydore engaged in war, most of the other islands in these seas taking part with the one or the other. The Dutch also sent forces to the assistance of the King of Ternate, as the Portuguese did to the assistance of the King of Tydore: Admiral MIDDLETON sailing along the coast of Tydore, observed two gallees with a white flag, rowing towards him with all their might, and making signals of distress. At the same time he observed seven other gallees, or curra-curroes of Tydore, between him and the shore, whose design was to cut off the two vessels he saw first, in which was the King of Ternate himself, with several of his nobility, and some Dutch merchants: they begged of the Admiral, for God's sake, to protect them, for they expected no mercy from the Tydorians. The galley in which the King of Ternate was, had the good fortune to come up with the Admiral, who received him and his people into the ship; but the other galley was boarded by the Tydorians, and every soul of them put to the sword, except three who jumped over-board, and were taken up by the English: The King of Ternate shivering for fear when he came on board, the Admiral, thinking he had been cold, threw over him a black damask gown, of which he made his Majesty a present.

Amboyna na.

Trade to Banda and the Molucca's.

King of Ternate preserved by the English, as well as several Dutch merchants.

The Admiral after this sailed to Tydore, and from thence to Ternate, where the King seeming inclined to trade with the English, the Hollanders

The King of Ternate threatened by the Hollanders

CHAP.

XVI.

Dutch, for offering to trade with the English. The characters the Dutch give the English and themselves.

landers threatned to desert him, and join his mortal enemy the King of Tydore; declaring, "That the English were thieves and robbers, and that the King of Holland was stronger by sea than all the Princes of Christendom together." To which the Admiral in short replied, That the Hollanders lyed, as he was ready to make appear against any one that should dare to affirm any thing of this nature before him; and at the same time acquainted the Ternatians, that the Dutch had been utterly ruined by the King of Spain, and used as slaves and traitors, if the Queen of England had not taken pity of them, and prevented it.

Admiral MIDDLETON having taken in great part of his lading of cloves at Tydore, set sail for Bantam, and from thence with the Ascension to England, where he arrived the 6th of May, 1606, bringing with him the two following letters directed to King JAMES I, from the Kings of Ternate and Tydore.

The King of Ternate's letter to the King of England, anno 1605.

Hearing of the good reports of your Majesty, by the coming of the great Captain Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, in the time of my father, which was about some thirty years past: by which Captain, my predecessor did send a ring unto the Queen of England, as a token of remembrance between us; of which, if Captain DRAKE had been living, he could have informed your Majesty, as well as of the great love and friendship professed on either side; he on the behalf of the Queen, and my Father for himself and successors: since which departure of the said Captain, my father lived many years in expectation of his return, as I myself have done since, who am now the father of eleven children: and since the said Captain's being here, several other nations have arrived amongst us, who reported that your Majesty's subjects the English, came not as peaceable merchants, but to dispossess us of our kingdom; though by the coming of the bearer we are very sensible of the contrary, and greatly rejoice at it: but to tell your Majesty the truth, after many years expectation of English forces, promised by Captain DRAKE, here arrived certain ships which we well hoped had been Englishmen; but finding otherwise, and being out of all hope of succour from the English nation, we were reduced to write to the Prince of Holland, to crave aid and succour against our antient enemies the Portuguese; and according to our request, he hath sent hither his forces, which have expelled them out of all the forts which they held at Amboyna and Tydore: and whereas, your Majesty hath sent to me a most kind and friendly letter, by your servant Captain HENRY MIDDLETON, which doth not a little rejoice us; and the said Captain MIDDLETON was desirous to leave a factory here, we were willing thereunto, but the Captain of the Hollanders, understanding it, came to challenge me of a former promise which I had made to the prince of Holland, That if he would send me such succours as should expel the Portuguese out of these parts, no other nation should have trade there, and we were compelled against our minds to yield unto the Holland Captain's request for this time, for which we crave pardon of your Highness;

and if any of your nation shall come hither hereafter, they shall be welcome; for notwithstanding the chief Captain of the Hollanders doth solicit us not to hold any friendship with your nation, nor to give ear to your Highness's letters; yet if you please to send hither again you shall be welcome; and in token of our friendship for your Majesty, we have sent you a small remembrance, a bahar of cloves, our country being poor, and yielding no better commodity; which we pray your Highness to accept in good part.

'TERNATA.'

The King of Tydore's letter to the King of England.

THIS writing of the King of Tydore to the King of England, is to let your Highness understand, that the King of Holland hath sent hither into these parts a fleet of ships, to join with our antient enemy the King of Ternate, and they jointly together have over-run and spoiled part of our country, and are determined to destroy both us and our subjects. Now understanding by the bearer hereof, Captain HENRY MIDDLETON, that your Highness is in friendship with the King of Spain, we desire your Majesty that you would take pity of us, that we may not be destroyed by the Kings of Holland and Ternate, to whom we have offered no wrong; but they by forcible means seek to bereave us of our kingdom; and as great Kings upon the earth are ordained by God, to succour all those who are wrongfully oppressed, I apply to your Majesty for succour against my enemies, not doubting but to find relief at your Majesty's hands; and if your Majesty shall send hither, I humbly intreat that it may be Captain HENRY MIDDLETON, or his brother, with whom I am well acquainted. God enlarge your kingdom, bless you and all your counsels.

'TYDORE.'

The Dragon and Hector were dispatched again to the East-Indies the 1st of April, 1607, under the command of Captain KEELYNG, but meeting with calms and contrary winds, did not arrive in India until the 26th of July, 1608, when the Dragon came to an anchor in Priaman road, on the coast of Sumatra, and having taken in what pepper they could get there, came to Bantam the 4th of October, 1608. The Hector having been at Surat, arrived at Bantam also the 2d of December. The 23d of December the Dragon set sail for England, and Captain KEELYNG came on board the Hector, and proceeded to Banda, where he arrived the 8th of February, 1608. He was saluted by the Hollanders at his coming a-shore, and having delivered his Majesty's letter and present to the Oran Caya's, or States of the island of Nero, desired he might erect a house for a factor there, and that they would enter into articles with him in relation to trade; to which they agreed, and he built a house there for the use of the company. He afterwards delivered a letter from his Majesty, and a present to the Oran Caya's of Lantor, or Proper Banda. The 23d he agreed with the Oran Caya's of Pooloway, to settle a trade with them, and erect a factory there, and received

Captain KEELYNG's voyage, 1607.

Arrives at Banda, 1608.

Concludes articles of trade with the States of the island.

CHAP. XVI.

CHAP. of them 225 cattees of mace, and 1307 pound of
XVI. nuts.

Dutch fail
on the
Banda-
nefe, and
erect a
fort in
their coun-
try by
force.

On the 8th of April, the Dutch Admiral VAN HOEF came into the road, and exhibited a writing to the Oran Caya's of Nero; importing, that Count NASSAU and the States-General, would confirm such agreements as the Admiral should make with any Princes or States in the East-Indies. After which the Admiral proposed the building a fort in the island of Nero: The Bandanefe hereupon were all in an uproar, and absolutely refused it; whereupon the Admiral, on the 15th of April, 1609, landed 1200 men, fell upon the Bandanefe, and killed great numbers of them; after which they went about building their fort.

Abuse the
English
and stop
their
goods.

They also abused the English, interrupted their trade, and prevented their taking the spices aboard they had agreed for with the natives. The islands of Pooloway and Pooloroon notwithstanding agreed with Captain KEELYNG, by a writing under their hands, to deal with the English only, for all their mace and nutmegs, declaring that the Dutch should not have a handful; "They would die before they would have any thing to do with those boors." Soon after the Oran Caya's of Nero drew the Dutch Admiral and his Council into an ambuscade, and cut them to pieces: and had not Captain KEELYNG preserved several other Dutch merchants from the fury of the people, they had undergone the same fate; for which he had at first the thanks of their Vice-Admiral: but notwithstanding this service, the Vice-Admiral in a day or two offered to put a restraint upon the English trade again; and sent to search their boats as they went ashore, on pretence they might carry ammunition and provision to the Bandanefe.

The
Dutch
Admiral
and his
Council
cut in
pieces by
the na-
tives.

Labataca
taken
1609.

The first of July the Dutch stormed the town of Labataca, and took it; and the sixteenth burnt several vessels belonging to the Oran Caya's; the eighteenth they commanded Captain KEELYNG to be gone out of the road, out of the reach of their guns, which they had mounted on their new fort of Naffau.

The
Dutch
order
Capt.
KEE-
LYNG to
be gone.
Dutch
reasons
for mak-
ing war
on the
Banda-
nefe, and
expelling
the En-
glish mer-
chants.

Afterwards, according to their wonted intelligence, they fend Captain KEELYNG a positive order in writing to be gone, with their reasons, the tenor whereof follows, viz.

Nothing
more false.

“THAT Admiral PETER WILLIAMSON VAN-HOEF, arriving at Banda the eighth of April, 1609, and understanding by the company's factors that the Bandanefe often insulted them, and compelled them to give extravagant prices for their nutmegs and mace, and that sometimes they were robbed of their goods, and went in danger of their lives from the natives; and that the Bandanefe were indebted a great sum to the Dutch merchants, of which they designed to defraud them; and also had encouraged some of the Dutch sailors to renounce their Christianity: for these reasons the said Admiral was moved to erect a castle on the islands of Banda for the security of the Dutch factors, and to prevent their being imposed on and insulted by the natives for the future: as also to defend themselves against the Portuguese. Which proposal being assented to by the majority of the Oran Caya's, he accordingly proceeded to build a fort upon the island of Nero; and the fort being about half finished, the said Admiral proposed to the Oran Caya's to meet him and enter

Y O L. I.

into a treaty in order to form an alliance between them and his masters. That the Oran Caya's did accordingly agree to a treaty, and appointed Ratoo for the place of their conferences, whither the Admiral with several of his council and a guard of Dutch soldiers went to meet them: but a messenger came from the Oran Caya's to let him know, that they were in a neighbouring wood, not daring to advance farther for fear of his Dutch soldiers; and therefore desired he would leave his soldiers at Ratoo, and come to them with his council into the wood, with which the Admiral complied; but had no sooner entered the wood than he and the council were surrounded by the Oran Caya's and cut in pieces, who also afterwards killed the Dutch fiscal, or justice, whom he had sent to them as an hostage, and several other Dutchmen who had straggled into the woods. They also attacked the Admiral's guard, but were repulsed with the loss of several of the natives. That thereupon the Dutch were provoked to make war on the Bandanefe to revenge the death of their Admiral and countrymen thus treacherously killed. And that the English furnished the Bandanefe with ammunition, and made signals to them, whereby they discovered the designs of the Dutch: the Vice-Admiral, by virtue of his commission from Prince MAURICE, commanded Capt. KEELYNG to be gone out of the road, and out of the reach of his artillery in the new fort of Naffau, within five days. And inasmuch as the Dutch had now made a conquest of the island of Nero, he held that all the ports and roads about the island belonged to them, and would not permit any nation to anchor there while the war with the Bandanefe continued.

CHAP.
XVI.

They
made war
on the
Banda-
nefe first,
without
any pro-
vocation.

T is said
to false.

Ordained, passed, and absolutely resolved by the Vice-Admiral and council, in the ship Hollandia in the road of Banda 28 July, 1609.

To all this bluster Capt. KEELYNG coolly answered, that unless he was commanded otherwise than by their orders, he should stay in the road till he had taken in all his lading, which would be about twenty-five days: and observed, that rash men often threatened what they durst not execute.

Captain
KEE-
LYNG re-
fuses to
obey the
Dutch or-
ders.

On the first of August a peace was concluded between the Bandanefe and the Dutch; and the tenth Capt. KEELYNG sailed for Bantam, where having settled an English factory, he sailed for England the 3d of November, and the 10th of May, 1610, came into the Downs.

Comes to
England.

Capt. DAVID MIDDLETON, in the Consent, set sail from England the 12th of March 1606, and the 16th of July 1607, came to an anchor at the Cape, and the 14th of November arrived in Bantam road: having taken in several factors and merchandize proper for the Molucca's, they arrived at those islands in the beginning of January, where after they had spent some time in feasting and entertainments with the Spaniards and Moluccan Princes, they were permitted to trade; but were soon after prohibited again by the Spaniards, and forced to depart without their full lading: but going afterwards to Bouton met with a Java junk from Amboyna, of whom they bought as many cloves as they could stow: the 22d of May 1608, they came into Bantam road, and from thence sailed for England.

Capt.
DAVID
MIDDLE-
TON's
transac-
tions with
the Span-
iards at
the Mo-
lucca's,
1607.

M m

Capt.

CHAP.
XVI.
Capt.
MIDDLE-

voyage to
Banda,
and trans-
actions
with the
Dutch and
the Oran
Caya's
there,
1609.

Capt. DAVID MIDDLETON, in the Expedition, set sail from the Downs for India again the 24th of April, 1609, and came to the Cape the 10th of August, from whence he sailed the 18th, and arrived at Bantam the 7th of December: on the 8th of January he set sail for the Molucca's, and touched at Bouton, hoping to have found spices to freight the ship there: but the King assured him his warehouses had been burnt down, so that he could not furnish him with any: afterwards he came to the island of Bangaia, over against Amboyna, where he found a drunken Dutchman who kept a seraglio consisting of two large houses full of young wenches, daughters of the natives, and who had the absolute command of the island: this fellow, the Captain tells us, would sing and dance naked all day long, according to the custom of the country; his business was to collect the King of Ternate's duty in all the neighbouring islands.

The wind not serving for the Molucca's, Capt. MIDDLETON went away for the Banda islands, where he arrived the 5th of August; the country people came aboard him and told him, the Dutch would suffer none but their own people to trade thither; and at this time had detained fifteen China junks in the road of Nero.

The Governor of Naffau fort commanded Capt. MIDDLETON to bring his ship into the road under his guns and come ashore; which the Captain refused, and told him he should defend himself if any violence was offered.

Pooloway
and Poolo-
roon not
yet con-
quered by
the
Dutch.

The people of Nero came aboard, and were willing to deal with the Captain, if the Dutch would have permitted them: and the islands of Pooloway and Pooloroon still held out against all the forces the Hollanders could bring against them.

The
Dutch
claim a
property
in the
islands of
Nero and
Lantor,
where
they first
massacred
the natives
and then
erected
their forts.

The na-
tives ac-
count of
the usage
they met
with from
the Portu-
guese and
Dutch.

Capt. MIDDLETON understanding that the Dutch had a design to clap him on board with a fire-ship; and if that did not succeed, to send two ships of a thousand tun each, with some frigates, to sink him, went on shore and shewed them his commission, expostulating with them for their barbarous usage of him. They told him the islands of Nero and Lantor were their own, and no nation should trade thither; whereupon he offered to deal with them for spices, but they refused to sell him any. Then he sailed to Pooloway and purchased his ship's lading of nutmegs and mace, and enough to lade a smack besides; but the natives upon his going over to a neighbouring island to find a good harbour for his ship, thinking he had been gone quite away, were about to imprison his factors and seize their effects; but on his return released them: when he demanded the reason of this usage, they acquainted him, that for many years the Portuguese, and after them the Hollanders, had traded with them as he did now, but afterwards came and took their country from them: and they supposed that he was gone to bring a fleet to make a conquest of those islands which still retained their liberty, and therefore had seized his men and goods for their own security; but now he was returned and found he had no such intent, they readily delivered them to him again, and they parted very good friends the 7th of September. The 9th of October 1610, he came into Bantam road; but the Dutch, it seems, had followed Capt. MIDDLETON with two great ships and several frigates, determining to have sunk or taken him, but were prevented by calms and contrary winds: while the Captain lay at

Bantam the Dutch dispatched eight European ships to Banda and Ternate, with planks and other necessities to furnish their fortifications there; and about the same time arrived a fleet from Holland with a great number of Dutch women on board for breeders.

The Spaniards and Dutch at this time had their several forts at Ternate, and many skirmishes happened between them.

Capt. SARIS, the 14th of January, 1612, sailed from Bantam for the Molucca's, and the 22d of February arrived there. He found the Kings of Ternate and Tydore still engaged in war, while the Spaniards and the Dutch were building forts, and strengthening themselves in order to exclude all other nations from the trade of these islands.

However, the country people came on board Capt. SARIS, and offered to sell him cloves for ten rials a bahar more than the Dutch gave, and accordingly some quantity of cloves were brought aboard. The Dutch hereupon threatened to cut the natives in pieces that brought them, and took several boats laden with cloves as they were coming off to the ship. Two Dutch ships also came to an anchor just by Capt. SARIS, to prevent any cloves being brought on board him, using all manner of reproachful language to the English.

The Dutch afterwards sent the Captain a letter, acquainting him that the natives had contracted with them for all their cloves, in consideration of their delivering them from the tyranny of the Spaniards; that they now looked upon the people of these islands as their subjects by right of conquest, and would not suffer any other nation to have any commerce with them. To which Capt. SARIS answered, he should continue to trade with any people that were willing to trade with him, not regarding these idle stories of conquest and compact, which were not consistent.

They afterwards ordered the Prince of Ternate to lie with his barge a-stern of the Captain, to prevent the natives bringing off any cloves: but notwithstanding all their caution, when the King sailed, the natives brought off a considerable quantity.

The Captain sailing by the Spanish fort at Tydore, the Governor sent a boat on board him, and afterwards made him a present, giving the inhabitants liberty of trading with him for some things: but while he lay here the Prince of Tydore came from an expedition against the Ternatians, with the heads of an hundred Ternatians; among which was the head of the Prince of Ternate himself, which the conquerer brought to his wife, sister to the deceased Prince. In this action also was killed a young brother of the Ternatian Prince, and the King of Gilolo. This Prince of Tydore had some little time before surprized and taken a Dutch man of war, and was so enterprizing a young gentleman, that though he sent Capt. SARIS a complement, and let him know he would visit him, and he should trade in his country; the Captain did not know how to trust him, but set sail for Japan rather than venture to let him come aboard his ship.

The 2d of October, 1615, one of the Oran Caya's of Pooloway came with SOPHON COZOCKE to the English factory at Bantam, desiring their protection and assistance against the Dutch oppressions, and particularly to assist them in taking the castle of Nero, or Naffau: to which

CHAP.
XVI.

Dutch
froes sent
to the
Oriental
islands for
breeders.

Capt. SA-
RIS's voy-
age to the
Molucca's.

Dutch
prohibit
the natives
to trade
with the
English,
and take
away their
cloves by
force.

Pretend a
contract
with the
natives.

Use the
Prince of
Ternate as
their val-
sal.

Spaniards
more ob-
liging than
the
Dutch.

Prince of
Tydore's
victory
over the
Ternati-
ans and
King of
Gilolo.

Oran Ca-
ya's of
Pooloway
desire pro-
tection,
1615.

the

CHAP. XVI. the factory answered, they could not engage against the Dutch without orders from England; and it seems the next year orders came from England to treat with the Bandanese, as appears by the following relation.

SPURWAY'S account of the state of Banda, 1616. Mr THOMAS SPURWAY, factor or merchant for the English East-India Company at Banda, in a letter to his masters, acquaints them, that he arrived at Macassar the 19th of November, 1616, with two of the company's ships, viz. the Swan and the Defence, commanded by Capt. COURTHOP, where they staid some time to take in rice: that in the mean while a great Dutch ship appeared about five leagues off at sea, and sent her boat with eight men on shore.

That the English met them at their landing and told the Dutch they run a great hazard of their lives in coming thither; for that the King of Macassar and all the Princes in that part of the island were their mortal enemies; their countrymen the Hollanders, having lately committed many outrages there, taken several of the natives prisoners; and amongst the rest, a Sabandar or Governor, and carried them away to sea.

While they were giving them this account the natives assembled about them, and the King came down to the sea-side with two thousand men, and had cut them to pieces; but they were spared at the intercession of the English, and suffered to return to their ship.

Some Dutchmen cut off at Macassar. The next day the Hollanders sent another boat towards Macassar, with sixteen men; at which the King was so provoked, that he commanded out his gallies, or curra-curroes, who boarded them, and killed every one of the Dutch before they reached the shore.

The English ships set sail from Macassar the 8th of December, 1616, and having supplied the Dutch ship with rice and water upon their earnest request, pretending to be in distress; they pursued their voyage to Pooloroon, where they arrived the 13th of December, the Dutch ship attending them as far as Amboyna; where in recompence for the service the English had done them, they reported that the English were the occasion of their men being killed at Macassar.

Treaty between the Bandanese and the English. The Oran Caya's of Pooloway and Pooloroon came on board the English the 24th of October, 1616, to treat of making a formal surrender of their country to the English; in consideration of their being protected against Dutch usurpation, and annually supplied by the English with rice, clothing, and other necessaries.

The English demanded of them whether they had ever made any contract with the Hollanders, or surrendered up their islands to them? To which they all replied, they never had nor never would, for that they took them to be their mortal enemies; and both the Oran Caya's of Pooloroon and Pooloway (who fled to Pooloroon when the Dutch landed there, and took their country from them by force) did aver and maintain, that Pooloway belonged to the King of England by a voluntary surrender of the Oran Caya's, into the hands of Captain RICHARD HUNT for the use of his Majesty, before the Hollanders came into the road or made a descent upon that island: and that, as subjects to his Majesty, they had caused the English colours to be placed on their fort, which the Dutch shot down several times; abusing his Majesty in the vilest language, such as Dutch boors excel in.

That they defended the island as long as they

could for the King of England, and when they were forced out of it, they fled to Pooloroon and the neighbouring islands; but never submitted to the Dutch.

In the evening the 14th of December, 1616, Articles of cession or surrender of the island of Pooloroon and Pooloway, to the King of England, were executed by the Oran Caya's of the island, and delivered by their own hand to Mr NATHANIEL COURTHOP, Mr THOMAS SPURWAY, and Mr SOPHON COZOCKE, to his Majesty's use. They also delivered a nutmeg-tree with the roots and fruit upon it, and a live goat by way of feisin; desiring to have the English colours planted on the island of Pooloroon, and thirty six great guns fired in memory of this cession or surrender, which was done accordingly; and after a suitable entertainment, the Oran Caya's were conducted to Pooloroon.

The surrender of the islands of Pooloway and Pooloroon in Banda, to his Majesty.

THIS writing is an agreement between all the Oran Caya's of Pooloway and Pooloroon also, and the English, in manner as followeth: Whereas in the time that Pooloway was not yet surprized by the Hollanders, the people of Pooloway and Pooloroon did surrender the two aforesaid islands unto the King of England, and gave a turf of earth to RICHARD HUNT, merchant there; withal, setting up the King of England's flag upon the castle of Pooloway, and shooting off three pieces of ordnance in token of the covenant, whereby the men of Pooloway and Pooloroon did surrender the two aforesaid islands to the King of England, (which was done before the surprize of Pooloway eight days) and after that it was taken by the Hollanders: and whereas at that time there were but two Englishmen upon Pooloway, who being not able to defend the country, went away to Pooloroon, together with the men of Pooloway, in a small prau; bringing away with them earth and writings for the establishing of covenants betwixt them. These are therefore to testify, that the two aforesaid islands do actually belong to the King of England only, according to our aforesaid surrender: but whereas at this time, through the assaults of the Hollanders, Pooloway is fallen into their hands and possession; if it shall please his Majesty to recover it to himself again, he shall do therein nought but justice. But this is sure, that we the men of Pooloway and Pooloroon have surrendered the two aforesaid islands into his Majesty's power, and cannot go from, or revoke our word again, even to the last day; and having linked ourselves with the English in one bond to live and die together, we the men of Pooloway and Pooloroon do farther covenant, to send every year to the King of England a branch of nutmegs in token of our fidelity; desiring that this surrender of all the Oran Caya's of Pooloway and Pooloroon be not had in oblivion unto the King of England, &c. And whereas King JAMES, by the grace of God, is King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and now also by the mercy of God, King of Pooloway and Pooloroon, we do moreover all of us make an agreement, that the commodities in the two aforesaid islands, namely, mace and nutmegs, shall not be sold

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to any other nation but only to the King of England and his subjects, according to the true meaning of our covenants and surrender; for which reason we cannot, nor will trade with any other people. And whereas all the Oran Caya's of the two foresaid islands have made this agreement; let it be remembered that it was not made in madnes, or loosely, as the breathing of the wind, but upon mature deliberation; nor can they revoke, or fwerve from the same again. Moreover, all we together do desire of his Majesty, all such things as are not fitting in our religion, as immodest usage of women, maintaining of swine in our country, forcibly taking away of men's goods, misusing of our men, or any such like that are excepted against in our laws, be not put in practice, being contrary to our custom, that they may not prove a blemish unto our religion; and that we may receive no occasion to deal unkindly with the English. Furthermore, if any Englishman will become of our religion, we will accept of him upon counsel: or if any of our people will become a Christian, he shall be so likewise upon like counsel; desiring this promise, that such things be not done in such manner as may breed discontent betwixt us and the English, which we do very earnestly desire of his Majesty. Finally, at this time all the Oran Caya's of Pooloway, and Pooloroon, do again covenant with NATHANIEL COURTHOP, Captain of the two ships riding here, SOPHON COZOCKE and THOMAS SPURWAY, giving a turf of earth, and surrendering the two foresaid islands unto the King of England, being already partly in the hands of NATHANIEL COURTHOP, SOPHON COZOCKE, and THOMAS SPURWAY; and that not only now, but as being done long before, when Captain CASTLETON went from Pooloway with four ships, when all the Oran Caya's of the two foresaid islands agreed with RICHARD HUNT, merchant of Pooloway, set the King of England's flag upon the castle of Pooloway, and shot off three pieces of ordnance in token of the covenant between the Oran Caya's of Pooloway and Pooloroon, and the English; and as it has been done heretofore, so at this time we do renew it, with NATHANIEL COURTHOP, SOPHON COZOCKE, and THOMAS SPURWAY:

Emmon Pooloway,	Hattib Irtam,
Sabandar Pooloway,	Hattib Pootee,
Sabandar Wrat,	Sabandar Treat,
Sabandar Pooloroon,	Emmon Lancocoe,
Sabandar Lamecoe,	Sabandar Locon.
Nahoda Coa,	

N. B. Capt. CASTLETON was at Banda, November, 1615, with four ships, viz. the Clove, the Defence, the Thomas, and Concord, when Mr HUNT took the surrender of the Oran Caya's of that country.

The surrender of Rofinging and Wayre to his Majesty King JAMES.

THIS writing is for the agreement between all the Oran Caya's of the country of Wayre, and of the island of Rofinging, and the English nation, in manner as followeth, viz. That whereas in the time that the country

of Banda was in trouble by reason of their enemies, so that they were no longer able to withstand them; they therefore agreed with NATHANIEL COURTHOP, SOPHON COZOCKE, and THOMAS SPURWAY, thus much in effect, that is, that they do surrender the country of Wayre, and the island of Rofinging unto the King of England, in respect that they are not able any more to stand for themselves against their enemies; that now the said country of Wayre and the island of Rofinging is only in the power of the King of England. And whereas the agreement is once made, we the foresaid Oran Caya's cannot in our conscience dissolve it again, but agree that it shall last for ever until the last day of doom: and that the English shall be as the men of the country of Wayre in all privileges. Furthermore the men of the foresaid country of Wayre and the island of Rofinging, do promise and agree to send unto the King of England one branch of nutmegs as a token of their foresaid agreement of all us the foresaid Oran Caya's; on condition that the said token of our agreement be not out of memory nor dissolved, nor we disesteemed; and we do wish that Almighty GOD would vouchsafe to give prosperity to the King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and now by the grace and mercy of GOD the King of the country of Wayre and the island of Rofinging; and that more, we will stoop to no other King, or Potentate, but only unto his Majesty, and after him to all his posterity. Furthermore as concerning our trade, we do all truly agree not to sell any of the nuts or mace, which the foresaid countries do afford, to any other but only to the King of England's subjects; because we have wholly unto him surrendered the foresaid two countries of Wayre and Rofinging, with all that therein is, or whatsoever it doth or shall yield, it is the King of England's own: and this shall stand for a reason that we cannot trade with any other nation. Moreover, we intreat the King's Majesty of England in earnest manner, that such things as are not besitting to our religion, as unmannerly usage of our women, maintaining of swine in our country, beating and abusing of our men, or taking away of them per force against their wills, as if they were their own slaves, or any other such like attempts that are held unbeseeming in our laws: (we say) that we do entreat his Highness, that none of those or such like be put in practice by his subjects, because they are things disallowable in our laws, and so being committed, will redound to the overthrow thereof; and we thereby might be forced to deal unkindly with the English: therefore, moreover if any of the English hereafter shall have an affection to be circumcised, and become as one of us, it shall be done upon sufficient counsel between the rest of the English and us; or if any of us will become a Christian in that cause, the like counsel shall be held; and this shall not be done for any misdemeanor of the party willing so to turn, because that may breed a dissention between the English and us. And whereas, this agreement was made in the presence and by the consent of the King and Sabandar of Wayre, the Sanbandar of Rofinging, Emmon Hattib, and all the rest of the Oran Caya's of the countries of Wayre and the islands of Rofinging: this shall be for a testimony that it is not done in madnes, or in the manner

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manner of the breathing of the wind ; but that it was also as well thought in our hearts as spoken from our mouths, and therefore we cannot nor will go from it again, but that it shall so stand until the dissolution of the world : neither shall there any doubts rise in our hearts of any other, but that we the men of Wayre and Rofinging, are only the King's Majesty of England's subjects ; and if any trouble hereafter do happen in the foresaid countries, we will be contented as well to die, as to live together with the English, because we will be subject to one King ; and this shall stand for a reason, that any being in league with us, shall also be in league with the English, *Et per contra*, he that is near the English shall be near us, because we will by no means again divorce our selves one from the other. Finally, at the time this agreement was made, all the Oran Caya's of Pooloway and Pooloroon were witnesses thereunto, all the Oran Caya's of Wayre and Rofinging have unto the said premises set their hands :

The King of Wayre, Sabandar of Rofinging,
The Sabandar of Wayre, Emmon of Rofinging,
Emmon of Wayre, Hattib of Rofinging.

On the 28th of December several Dutch ships appeared, and one of them took down her ancient and put up a bloody flag, whereupon the English ships expected to have been attacked, and therefore landed several pieces of ordnance, and threw up a redoubt on the island of Pooloroon, whereby they had the command of the road : on the third of January there came three Dutch ships from Nero, one of eight hundred, another of five hundred, and the third of one hundred and sixty tons, full of men, with an intention to have attacked the English : whereupon the English Captains shewed them the surrenders of Pooloway and Pooloroon to the King of England ; and also demanded possession of Pooloway. Nor did the Dutch at this time pretend to any prior surrender to their State ; but, on the contrary, acknowledged they had none. The Dutch had infallibly attacked their ships however, if they had not perceived the guns mounted on the shore, and the preparations made to receive them ; and they soon after found means to effect their designs without much hazard to their persons ; for Capt. DAVIS, master of the Swan, going over to Wayre, (a town of Lantore which was not yet in the possession of the Dutch) two Holland ships filled with soldiers from Nero, poured in their broadsides upon him without any declaration of war, and took him after some little resistance ; for not having more than thirty sound men on board, the rest sick, or left at Pooloroon ashore, it is not to be supposed he could stand before them, what made the loss the greater, was the death of Mr SOPHON COZOCKE, who was beat to pieces by a cannon shot at the beginning of the engagement.

Captain COURTHOP finding the Dutch in earnest, and that it was impossible to resist them at sea, and well weighing at the same time of what consequence these islands were to the crown of England, bravely resolved to take his guns out of the Defence, and erect a fort upon a little island close by Pooloroon which commanded the road, and here he did not doubt to stand his ground against all the power the Dutch had in India, till he should be relieved from England ; but

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as misfortunes frequently come one upon the neck of another, the few men that were left on board the Defence run away with her to the Dutch, probably dreading the hardships they were like to suffer on a barren island, (where was neither water nor food) before they should be supplied from England.

The Dutch broke open the cabbins and chests in the English ships, and plundered them of every thing that was valuable, throwing the rest over board. They afterwards laid the men in irons, threw them into stinking loathsome dungeons, or rather bog-houses, where in contempt they dinged upon their heads ; insomuch that many of them were killed with the loathsome stench ; others were carried about the country in cages by way of triumph, declaring that the English were but slaves and vassals to the Dutch in Europe, where they used them often, as they did these unhappy prisoners ; and they would have the natives know that this was but a specimen of their humanity, they had much worse in store for those who dare yet oppose them. In short, never were enemies, taken in a declared war, used with half that barbarity the English were by the Dutch in time of full peace, and had it been from an enemy, they might have borne it ; but to be thus dealt with by people obliged by all the ties that gratitude or religion could lay upon them, required an uncommon patience, and such as no nation but the English ever discovered.

To proceed ; Capt. COURTHOP a little while after, sent to Nero to reclaim the Defence ; but the Dutch refused to return either ship or goods, unless the Captain would desert the people of Pooloroon, and relinquish all pretensions to the Banda Islands : some wrongs the Dutch also complained of, such as Sir HENRY MIDDLETON's wearing a Dutch flag in the Red-Sea, which Mr COURTHOP, who was on board Sir HENRY, told them was false ; adding, that the English were above wearing Dutch colours. Then the Dutch told him, they had the King of England's orders that no English ships should pass to the eastward of Macassar, which it seems was as false as the other trivial matters they alledged, with equal truth, for their inhuman treatment of the English ; and had they better reasons, no doubt we should have heard of them.

Captain COURTHOP finding nothing to be done by way of treaty, dispatched Mr SPURWAY with a Sabandar, and several Oran Caya's to the English factory at Bantam, to acquaint them with the state of their affairs. The Dutch gave chase to the vessel which carried them, and had no doubt prevented their telling tales, if the English had not put into Bouton, and been protected by the King, who sent them to the farther part of the island, and provided another vessel to carry them to Bantam, where they arrived the 3d of June 1617.

When the Dutch were at any time told they must answer for these wrongs to our nation in Europe, they would reply, they could make as good friends in the court of England, as our English East-India company ; that they did not matter paying for a ship or two ; a little gold well applied would heal all : nor did they value the expence, so as they could destroy the English trade at Banda.

This is the account Mr SPURWAY and other factors gave in their letters to the East-India company ; adding, that they hoped they would

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Dutch plunder the English ships.

And use the English prisoners barbarously.

Though it was a time of full peace.

Captain COURTHOP sends to Bantam for a reinforcement.

so prize the blood of their servants, who had been maimed, wounded, imprisoned, and murdered by the Dutch; that they would procure satisfaction to be made, that the Dutch might be deterred from acting the same villainies over again. They represented also, that if the factory at Pooloroon was not supplied and reinforced speedily, the English name must undergo the greatest disgrace imaginable in that part of the world, and the nation would suffer such a loss as was never to be retrieved. For, as Mr SPURWAY adds, though Pooloroon was not indeed the most fruitful of these islands, it did however afford good store of mace and nuts, and more there would be if they were well cultivated: besides Lantore and Rosfinging had great plenty of them, and it would be impossible for the Dutch to hinder their transporting their fruits to Pooloroon, if the English supplied them with rice, salt, pepper, and other necessaries in return for these spices.

Captain
COURTHOP'S
journal,
1616.

To this account, I shall add such particulars out of Capt. COURTHOP's journals and letters, as are omitted in Mr SPURWAY'S. The Captain, it seems, had the command of the Swan and the Defence, and sailed with them from Bantam the last day of October 1616; arriving at Macassar the 17th of November following. He gives the same account of the Dutch boats coming on shore there the 1st of December, as Mr SPURWAY has done; and that they failed for Banda on the 9th of December, in company of the Dutch ship, as far as Amboyna; and on the 23d came to an anchor in Pooloway road; the next day in the evening they accepted of the resignation of the islands of Pooloway and Pooloroon, to the use of his Majesty, according to SPURWAY'S relation.

He tells us farther, that when the Hollanders offered to restore their ships, &c. upon condition he would quit Pooloroon, he answered, that he could not give away the King's right, and desert the islanders, his subjects, without being guilty of high-treason, and drawing the blood of that people on his own head, who had thrown themselves upon his Majesty's protection: but if the Dutch would restore the ships, with men and goods, and help to convey them to Bantam, giving under their hands that no attempt should be made against the two islands till the matter was decided in England or Bantam, then he would quit the island. To which the Dutch made no other reply, but that they would drive him out by force. As to that pretence of the Dutch, that they had King JAMES'S orders to take all English ships to the eastward of Macassar, nothing could be more ridiculous, because Capt. COURTHOP had at that very time a commission to accept of the resignation of the Oran Caya's of Banda to his Majesty, if he could procure one: and as to any prior surrender to the Dutch, Capt. COURTHOP offered if they could make any such appear, he would relinquish the English claim. They did indeed pretend to Nero and Pooloway by conquest, which shews sufficiently that they had no right to the islands by compact.

Dutch
plead a
right to
Nero by
conquest.

1618.

Twoother
ships ta-
ken in
fight of
Poolo-
roon in
time of
peace.

On the 25th of March, the Solomon and Attendance, two English ships, came in sight of the English fort of Pooloroon, but were intercepted by four great Dutch ships, and after an engagement of seven hours were taken and carried into Nero road: had not the Thomas, which was in their company, parted with them a little before, they had probably relieved their brave countrymen; but this was not the only unlucky accident,

for it seems the Solomon was so loaded with rice, C.H.A.P. and other provisions for the Bandanefe, that she XVI. could not use her lower tire, and their powder also had been damaged; but success and justice are not always on the same side, except among the vulgar, who ever look upon good fortune as an unanswerable argument of the justice of any cause: men of reflection indeed observe, that success as often attends pirates and handitti, as honest men, if not oftner; and that the brave unfortunate frequently deserve much greater applause than the brutish conqueror, who generally owes his fortune to a superior force.

That these Dutch outrages were not the actions only of private men, is evident, in that their Generals and Admirals declared they had a commission from the States to make prize of all ships that approached the Banda shores without their leave: nor were they ever called to an account for their barbarous usage of the English.

Orders of
the States
to make
prize of
all Eng-
lish ships
in time of
peace.

The Solomon and Attendance, it seems, had several Bandanefe on board, who fought bravely, and more than once cleared the decks of the Dutch men; and several of them afterwards escaped to Pooloroon in boats; but some of them, as well as of the English, were massacred in cold blood after the engagement.

The 17th of April 1618, the Oran Caya's of Lantore, or Proper Banda, came over to confer with Captain COURTHOP on the situation of their affairs: and that brave people, notwithstanding all these disappointments, agreed to hold out another year, in hopes that by that time more English shipping would arrive to their relief. Capt. COURTHOP thereupon dispatched an express to Bantam, to solicit a reinforcement, and acquaint the English factory there with their distress, having now but 38 men left to resist all the forces of the Dutch, and no other provision but rice and such fish as they could take.

Resolution
of the
Bandanefe.

Among other inferences of the Dutch, Captain COURTHOP'S journal takes notice, that they boasted of their having copies of all English commissions before ever the company's ships set sail from England, and pretended that none of the company's officers had the King's commission, and consequently it was no offence to the crown of England, to insult and abuse the company's servants, and destroy their factories and effects. They declared also, that the Bandanefe must never expect to enjoy peace, unless they submitted to the Hollanders, no nation in the world being a match for them, or so able to supply them with the necessaries they wanted. But still it seems the Bandanefe were so well apprized of the Hollanders design to enslave them, from their behaviour in that part of the country they had subdued, that they chose to run all hazards, and suffer the greatest want and hardships, rather than be at their mercy.

Dutch
insolence.

The Dutch, as has been intimated, framed all manner of lyes to deter the Bandanefe from confiding in the English. Sometimes they reported that Capt. COURTHOP had lost all his men, that he had no provisions, and could not hold out ten days: sometimes they would pretend that this island, sometimes that, had agreed to surrender to them, in order to draw in the rest; but none of these pretences had the effect they expected; nothing but downright force, or rather that unhappy treaty which afterwards ensued, and induced the English to lay down their arms, while the Dutch went on to complete the conquest of these islands, could ever have gained them the possession, and

excluded

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excluded the English: but when the natives saw themselves abandoned to the fury of the Dutch, and their old allies, for whom they had suffered so much, tamely looking on and suffering theirs, as well as their own rights, to be thus insolently invaded under colour of a peace, in which the Bandanese were not considered, what impressions must it give that people of us! or what interest could we ever expect to have in this country for the future? but we are not yet come to this unhappy scene, nor would COURTHOP ever have acquiesced in such a stupid conduct, had he been then alive.

Dutch
beaten off
from Lan-
tore.

To proceed; the Dutch, finding that the Bandanese were not to be moved either by threats, or promises, or even by the losses their allies (or rather fellow-subjects, the English) had sustained, endeavoured to have surprized the town of Lantore, but were beaten off by the natives, with the loss of several of their men.

The com-
plaints of
the Eng-
lish pri-
soners.

The Captain's journal farther informs us, that he had not only the whole forces of the Dutch and other hardships to contend with, but the complaints and importunities of the English sailors now perishing in the Dutch prisons, and begging him to make peace with their tormentors on any terms, that they might be released from their dungeons; whereupon the Captain often sent a flag of truce to the Dutch, to represent the cruel and unmanly treatment of their prisoners, and sent them rice and oranges, and such little refreshments as they could spare; assuring them, that if any thing less than the betraying the interests of his King and country had been required of him, he would infallibly have complied with them; but that he was himself ready to suffer and to hazard every thing rather than abandon a people who had put themselves under his Majesty's protection, and to whom he had engaged himself in the solemnest manner.

Sir THO-
MAS
DALE's
victory
over the
Dutch at
Bantam,
1618.

On the 27th of January, 1618, Capt. COURTHOP received an express from Sir THOMAS DALE that he was arrived at Bantam with a good fleet of English ships: that he had defeated the Dutch, and driven them from the coast of Java; and that he would speedily sail for Banda, and call the Dutch to an account for all the wrongs they had done the English on that side.

The president and factory of Bantam also wrote to Capt. COURTHOP by the same ship, telling him they had sent him some small refreshment; not doubting, as he had begun, so he would continue with a constant resolution to defend the islands of Banda; directing him to encourage the people of Pooloroon and Lantore to persist in their loyalty to the crown of England. They also sent two or three of the Bandanese in the same vessel, who had been witnesses of Sir THOMAS DALE's victory over the Dutch at Bantam, to keep their countrymen in heart. And concluded, encouraging Capt. COURTHOP still to defend the place till they sent him a reinforcement; assuring him that the honourable company had a due sense of his great services, and would infallibly reward them.

Capt. COURTHOP however waited another full year in expectation of a reinforcement; but received neither intelligence nor supplies from Bantam.

1619.

On the 30th of January 1619, the Captain dispatched Mr ROBERT HAYES with the priest of Pooloway, who was in their fort, to the Oran Caya's of Lantore, to confer with them concern-

ing their making a formal surrender of their country to the King of England: to which the Oran Caya's all agreed; and sent over the Sabandar, or Governor, of Lantore, with full powers to settle the articles between them and his Majesty. In the mean time, though the Dutch had a fort in Pooloway, and pretended to have made an entire conquest of that island, the natives often fell upon them and cut off their men; so that they might still be reckoned in a state of war: nor had the Dutch the peaceable possession of any one of the Banda islands while the brave COURTHOP commanded, and encouraged the natives by his example, to defend their country against their encroachments. But it was no small mortification to the Captain and his garrison, no doubt, after they had manifested so much courage and resolution for two years and upwards in defence of their little fort, on which depended the whole Banda trade, to hear, as they did about the 20th of March 1619, that Sir THOMAS DALE, who commanded the English fleet, was dead, and that the commanders not agreeing among themselves afterwards, the fleet had been dispersed to several parts of India; by which conduct seven ships had fallen into the enemies hands; so that there was now little hopes of relief for a considerable time; and Mr COURTHOP began to look upon their case as desperate, as appears by a letter he sent to the English President at Bantam, wherein he tells him he must have surrendered before this for want of food, if a Portugal frigate had not accidentally come by and furnished them with rice. He presses him therefore for farther supplies, and adds, 'God grant me well out of this country, for the people have spent their gold and estates, and many of them have lost their lives and liberties in expectation of English succours: can every nation, says he, fall into these seas and are the English only afraid to venture hither? you bid me rub out another year, we have rubbed off the skin already, I pray look to it, &c.'

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A treaty with Lan-
tore for sur-
rendering it to
the King
of Eng-
land.

Seven
English
ships ta-
ken by
the Dutch.

But though the Captain seemed forsaken by the factory at Bantam, he was resolved not to desert his post. On the contrary, he got some country vessels to go over to Macassar and fetch in rice: he also repaired and strengthened his fortifications, and put such a face upon the matter, that the Dutch durst never attack him in his fort, though they often threatened it: but it seems, Mr COURTHOP going over to regulate some abuses there, was met by two Dutch vessels on the 26th of October, whom he fought bravely till he was shot in the breast, after which he sat down a little, and then threw himself over board rather than fall into their hands; possibly he hoped to have swam to shore as five or six of the Bandanese actually did, and escaped; but Mr COURTHOP was never heard of more.

Captain
COUR-
THOP
killed.

And here possibly some of our countrymen may bewail the hero; but who could wish a more glorious fate? rather let us make it matter of triumph that our nation bred so brave a man, such an example of courage and constancy as few ages have produced. He was a gentleman of a considerable family, who might have lived at ease and made a figure in the polite world, and yet chose to expose himself to the extremest want and danger in the remotest parts of the earth to stop the encroachments of the ungrateful Dutch, who like a torrent were then breaking in upon our navigation and commerce. O COURTHOP! thy name shall be recorded in the rolls of fame among Great

His cha-
racter.

Great-Britain's greatest sons: whom neither private interest, or an elegant retirement, to which thy friends invited thee, could ever induce thee to give up thy country's cause, or abandon those who had confided in thy promises of British aid.

This, this was the Crisis, when if the British nation had exerted itself in behalf of her trade and empire at sea, the Dutch had never been in a capacity of inflicting her coasts. The spices, as is well observed, is the basis of their trade, as it might have been of ours; and are of more value to them than the mines of Potosi to the Spaniard: and in fact, they do not only bring into their country Spanish silver without the trouble of working it, but every other valuable merchandize the world affords.

Loss of
the spice
trade a
vast disad-
vantage to
this na-
tion.

It is generally said indeed, it was the interest of the English to aggrandize the Dutch, in order to depress some Popish powers and defend our selves: but possibly, had we been masters of the treasures the spices of India bring in, we need not have wanted the Netherlands for a barrier: power is a constant attendant on riches; and if that little spot of ground, or rather sand, the seven provinces, are rendered so considerable by these advantages, what a figure might Great-Britain have made, if she had been mistress of the same rich trade?

And though the tranquillity of these islands was much to be admired, according to the Dutch accounts, under their mild administration, whether it may not be remembered to that tranquillity which reigns in the prisons of the inquisition, where none dare speak or stir, for fear of awaking their merciless persecutors to inflict new torments on them, is very much questioned; for the unheard of sufferings of their own countrymen, as well as the English under Dutch tyranny, have made such impressions on this poor people, as are not easily to be defaced; and while their terrors, their wretched poverty, and despair of foreign aid remained, no wonder they made no opposition to their high and mighty masters who had reduced them to this blessed state of tranquillity. And it is as little wonder, that foreigners who have heard of the cruelties transacted in Banda and Amboyna, are cautious of venturing thither to their relief.

To proceed; on the death of Capt. COURTHOP, Mr HAYES, with the consent of the English and Bandanese, took upon him the command of the fort, and the Oran Caya's of Lantore made a surrender of their island to the King of England on the 24th of November, as they had promised Capt. COURTHOP; of which the translation follows:

- ‘ In the year of the Prophet Mahomed 1028,
- ‘ in the 10th day of the moon Maharran,
- ‘ being Saturday, the year is called Aleph:
- ‘ and in the year of JESUS 1620, in the
- ‘ month of November the 24th day.

THIS is the writing of the agreement of the Sanbandar of Lantore and the Captain of Lantore, and all the Oran Caya's within the country of Lantore, with ROBERT HAYES, after the death of Capt. COURTHOP; that we of Lantore do surrender the land of Lantore unto the King's Majesty of England, with all that is therein: so that all the nuts and mace within the country of Lantore, we promise to sell to no other people other than to the subjects

of the King's Majesty of England only. Furthermore, we the Oran Caya's of Lantore do promise every year to send to the King's Majesty of England, a bough of a nutmeg-tree for the acknowledging of the homage of us the men of Lantore to the King's Majesty of England; to the intent that this agreement of surrender betwixt us be not forgotten to the end of the world: and to the intent there be no difference or falling out betwixt us, furthermore we do crave of his Majesty of England, concerning such things as do not agree with our religion, that they may not be done in the country of Banda; to the end that such things being restrained, there be no offence given between the Bandanese and the Englishmen: as to enforce our women, our wives or daughters, or to strike any of us, or violently to take any thing from us, or to let swine loose in our country, or any such like things as doth not agree with our religion: these things we only except, because they tend to the destroying our religion, to the intent there be no falling out betwixt the Bandanese and the English unto the end of the world: and whereas it pleaseth God that JAMES is King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, so now also he is King of the country of Banda; so then the country of Banda is in subjection to no other King than to the King's Majesty of England only, in this world, excepting our religion; for our religion of Islam (Mahometism) doth not agree with the Christian religion, neither doth the Christian religion agree with our religion of Islam; and this is the purport of our agreement. Farther, if it shall happen any English to run to us, or any Banda men to run to the English, it may not be tolerated without the consent of the chief of the English, and us of Banda, because such things are contrary to our religion, and tend only to create differences betwixt the Banda men and the English men. At this time we were together in consultation, all the Oran Caya's of Lantore, and the Oran Caya's of Labetack, and the Oran Caya's of Nero, Pooloway, and Pooloroon, and have put to our hands; and this is the intent of this writing.

Sabandar Lantore,
Sabandar-Ratoo.

Two days after, the Oran Caya's of Lantore had made this surrender, Mr HAYES intercepted a Dutch packet, whereby he understood that a treaty was concluded between the English and the States, in relation to the spice trade; whereupon he sent the packet to Nero, that they might have no pretence for committing any acts of hostility for the future. Hereupon, the Hollanders courted the Lantore men to break their agreement with the English, and sell their spices to them; which when the Lantore men refused, they pulled down their white flag, which had stood ten days, and set up a red one, and immediately after they stormed the town of Lantore; but were repulsed, and the Bandanese returned their visit, and cut off several of their people at Nero.

About the middle of February 1620, came in a great fleet of Dutch ships with land forces on board, with an intention, as Mr HAYES understood, to make an entire conquest of Lantore, and the other islands that held out; whereupon Mr HAYES acquainted the Dutch Admiral with the

News of
peace ar-
rives.

Dutch
continue
the war
notwith-
standing.

CHAP. XVI. the surrender of those islands to the King of England; but the boor would make no answer to his letter, and ordered the messenger to be gone immediately at his peril. He also sent to the Oran Caya's of Lantore to dismiss the English, and surrender their country to the States; and upon their refusal, stormed the town of Lantore again, and took it, and afterwards set the town on fire.

Imprison the company's factors, and seize their spices and treasure. The English company's factors, who were in the place, they stripped naked, beat and abused them, tied them hand and foot, and afterwards carried them on board the Admiral, where they were laid in irons: they seized also on the company's goods, being 23000 weight of mace, and 120000 weight of nutmegs, besides their treasure, cloth, and other effects.

Usurp the government of the islands surrendered to the King of England. The 6th of March, the Dutch came with 1500 men to attack Pooloroon, and told the Oran Caya's, if they did not immediately submit themselves, they would serve them as they had the Lantore men. To which the Oran Caya's of Pooloroon answered, they understood there was now peace between England and Holland, and as they were subjects to the King of England, they presumed the Dutch would not attempt any thing against them. The Dutch replied, that they must forthwith surrender their country to the States, or they would take it by force: the Oran Caya's said, since the English did not think fit to defend them they must submit; but the country was not theirs to grant, they had surrendered it to the King of England already, whom they supposed would look to his own rights. Hereupon, the Hollanders took possession of the country, and commanded the natives to demolish their walls and forts, the English all the while tamely looking on, pretending their hands were tied up by the late peace, though the Dutch went on in their barbarous ravages and usurpations from the time they had notice of it, till they had reduced all the islands under their power.

Capt. FITZ-HERBERT indeed, who commanded the Exchange, and arrived here at this time, had the courage to pull down the flag the Dutch had set up on one of the English forts; but they soon pulled it down again and set up their own in the room of it. They proceeded to demolish the English battery, and broke their guns in pieces, consisting of nine pieces of ordnance, and converted them to their own use.

On the 26th of April, the Hollanders sent to the Oran Caya's of Pooloroon, commanding them to sell the English no more spice; and on the 28th the Dutch General massacred no less than 44 of the Oran Caya's or great men of the country in cold blood, under pretence of conspiring against their High Mightinesses.

These murders and outrages were committed after the peace was known and proclaimed at Banda between the English and Dutch; and thus were the faithful Bandanese sacrificed for adhering steadily to the English, and the government of that country usurped by the Dutch. They did indeed suffer the English to trade to some places for a year or two; but then under pretence of a conspiracy against them by the English, as they now pretended a plot of the Lantore men, they destroyed our people in a much more barbarous manner than they had done the Indians, and totally excluded our nation from the spice trade, as will appear hereafter. We had concluded a peace indeed, but such a one as proved much more de-

structive, both to the English and Indians, than the most unfortunate war could ever have been, as Mr FITZ-HERBERT well observes. And now I come to give some account of the treaty itself, which the Dutch so flagrantly broke as soon as it was made, though it seems to have been calculated much to their advantage; so much, that surely it had never been consented to by the English, if there had not been some indirect practices in the case. It cannot properly be styled a treaty of peace between the Dutch and English nations, because we were not then at war in Europe; but it was in reality a confirmation of a treaty concluded between the English and Dutch East-India companies, and ratified by the Sovereigns of each nation, the Ministers of State on both sides governing the debates, and obliging each company to accept of such terms as they saw fit.

A confirmation of the treaty between the English and Dutch East-India companies, by the Sovereigns of each nation.

THIS instrument sets forth, that a treaty Parties to the treaty. had been concluded at London the 7th of July, in the (then) present year of our Lord, 1619, between several Commissioners, members of his Majesty's privy-council thereto specially appointed, and others, members of the English East-India company of the one part, and the Commissioners of the High and Mighty Lords the States-General, our good friends and allies, (being of the body of the said Lords the States) and others, members of the Dutch East-India company of the other part, as follows:

Whereas, for several years past there has been Recital of former conferences. differences and misunderstandings between the English and Dutch East-India companies; to accommodate which, conferences have been held between Commissioners of the said respective companies, as well at London, in the year 1613, as at the Hague, in the year 1615, without coming to any conclusion: his Majesty and the said Lords of the States, desiring that their subjects might live in friendship and a good correspondence; and being solicitous to remove all inconveniences that might obstruct an accommodation, have found it expedient and necessary to resume the said affair again in a third conference, by Commissioners of the said companies, assisted by such persons of his Majesty's privy-council, and of the body of the States-General, as his Majesty and the States shall appoint, viz.

Here the members of the privy-council and of the States-General appointed to assist at this treaty, are specified.

Whom his Majesty, and the said Lords the States have to that purpose authorized with powers and commissions; to the end that by their interposition and joint direction, the conclusion of an affair of such importance may be facilitated, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, and according to the orders, and in the presence of the abovesaid Lords, the Commissioners of both the said companies shall begin and manage their conferences, viz. on the part of the English East-India company.

Sir THOMAS SMITH, Kt. Governor of the company, &c.

Here the rest of the Commissioners of the English company are named.

THE PRESENT STATE OF

‘ And on the part of the Dutch company,
‘ Sir HENRY BASS, Kt. Burgo-maffer of
‘ Amsterdam, &c.’

Here the rest of the Commissioners of the Dutch company are named.

‘ Who by virtue of their powers, after much
‘ communication and long debates, have by the
‘ interposition, counsel, and direction of the afore-
‘ said Lords, finally concluded and agreed upon
‘ the following articles, viz.

‘ I. It was agreed that there should be a per-
‘ petual amnesty of all offences and injuries before
‘ that time committed in the East-Indies, either
‘ by the subjects of his Majesty, or the subjects of
‘ the said Lords the States; and accordingly all
‘ prisoners on either part should be set at liberty,
‘ and all ships, goods and merchandize, taken
‘ before the publication of this treaty in the East-
‘ Indies, should be reciprocally restored.

‘ II. The officers, agents, and servants, as
‘ well on the part of the one company as the
‘ other; shall entertain a friendly correspondence,
‘ and afford each other mutual aid whenever
‘ they meet, as becomes neighbours and friends
‘ engaged in so strict an alliance: and if ei-
‘ ther party shall find the other in distress at sea,
‘ they shall afford them all friendly assistance to
‘ the utmost of their power; and faithfully de-
‘ liver any letters or accounts that shall be sent by
‘ them.

‘ III. The trade and commerce of the East-
‘ Indies shall be free, as well for the English com-
‘ pany as for that of the United Provinces; and
‘ each of the said companies shall be at liberty to
‘ raise and employ such separate capital stock and
‘ funds as they respectively shall think fit.

‘ IV. And for the general good and advantage
‘ of trade, they shall mutually endeavour to re-
‘ gulate and lessen the excessive duties and im-
‘ positions lately exacted in the Indies, and leave off
‘ the practice of giving gratuities and presents
‘ over and above.

‘ V. They shall by common consent agree to
‘ fix a reasonable price in the Indies, on all mer-
‘ chandize, and at publick or private sales, made
‘ either in England or Holland, of India goods,
‘ they shall agree upon a stated price for a certain
‘ time, during which it shall not be lawful for ei-
‘ ther party to sell under that rate.

‘ VI. And for the avoiding all manner of jea-
‘ lousies and differences for the future, the agents,
‘ or factors on both sides shall consult and agree
‘ together, upon a moderate price for purchasing
‘ pepper at Bantam, and other places in Java
‘ Major, (nevertheless there shall remain a free-
‘ dom of commerce in other parts of the Indies,
‘ and also in Java Major, as to other merchan-
‘ dizes, agreeable to the third article) and to this
‘ end skilful agents, or factors, shall be appointed
‘ to buy pepper, which when bought shall be di-
‘ vided and shared equally.

‘ VII. The English company shall enjoy a free
‘ trade at Palicate, and bear half the charge of
‘ maintaining the fort and garrison there, to com-
‘ mence from the time of publishing this treaty
‘ in those parts.

‘ VIII. In the isles of the Molucca’s, Banda,
‘ and Amboyna, the trade shall be so regulated
‘ by common consent, that the English company
‘ shall enjoy a third part of that trade, as well
‘ for the importing and selling of goods in those
‘ islands, as of the fruits and merchandize of the
‘ growth of those islands which shall be export-

‘ ed from thence: and the Dutch company, shall
‘ enjoy the other two thirds. C H A P. XVI.

‘ IX. And as to the buying and sharing the
‘ said fruits and merchandizes, the principal fac-
‘ tors of the two nations shall buy them at the
‘ current price, and divide them by lot to each
‘ their respective share; and for that end it
‘ shall be lawful for either party to have access
‘ to, and abide in, the forts and magazines of the
‘ other.

‘ X. And considering that a trade so remote
‘ and important cannot be secured but by a
‘ considerable force, this shall be done by furnish-
‘ ing out and maintaining twenty ships of war,
‘ viz. ten by each company: the said number to
‘ be increased or lessened by common consent, as
‘ occasion shall require; and every one of the said
‘ ships shall be of the burthen of six or eight
‘ hundred tuns, and carry an hundred and fifty
‘ men, with thirty pieces of cannon, which will
‘ carry bullets from eight to eighteen pounds
‘ weight, with ammunition and all other neces-
‘ saries suitable thereto.

‘ XI. And the council of defence shall order
‘ what number of frigates, gallies, and other
‘ small vessels shall be farther necessary for the
‘ said defence.

‘ XII. The forts and garrisons in the islands of
‘ the Molucca’s, Banda, and Amboyna, shall be
‘ maintained out of the duties and impositions to
‘ be levied on the fruits and merchandizes ex-
‘ ported from the said islands; which duties and
‘ impositions shall be assessed by order of the
‘ council of defence, and received by the agents
‘ of both parties, and by them be transmitted
‘ from time to time as it shall be necessary, to the
‘ Treasurers of both companies, for the payment
‘ of the soldiers.

‘ XIII. For the better ordering and establish-
‘ ing the said defence, a council of defence shall
‘ be erected, consisting of eight persons of the
‘ principal officers there, and an equal number to
‘ be elected out of each company, and they to
‘ have the precedency by turns.

‘ XIV. This council shall order all things
‘ which concern the common defence by sea, and
‘ distribute the ships of war to such stations as
‘ they shall judge most necessary.

‘ XV. They shall also regulate the duties and
‘ impositions which shall be necessary for main-
‘ taining the said forts and garrisons, and shall
‘ have power to call the collectors of the said du-
‘ ties to account.

‘ XVI. The ships of war shall continue in the
‘ stations appointed them, and pursue the orders
‘ of the council of defence, and not be employed
‘ in importing merchandizes into these kingdoms
‘ or provinces.

‘ XVII. Provided that the said ships of war
‘ may be sometimes employed in transporting mer-
‘ chandize from place to place in the Indies, for
‘ the service of their respective companies, if the
‘ said council approve it, and it be not prejudicial
‘ to the defence.

‘ XVIII. And in cases of necessity the said
‘ council are empowered to employ such numbers
‘ of merchant ships as they shall judge proper, in
‘ the said defence.

‘ XIX. The losses and damages that shall hap-
‘ pen in any engagement for the common defence,
‘ or in going to or returning from the said de-
‘ fence, shall be borne equally, and defrayed at
‘ the common charge; and the gain and prizes
‘ which

CHAP. ' which shall be made, shall redound to the com-
XVI. mon profit.

' XX. The same rule shall be observed as to merchant ships employed on the like occasion, and during such service, the soldiers, and provisions for the seamen shall be made at the common charge of both companies: and in consideration of the interruption their commerce may sustain by such service, they shall receive such recompence as shall be adjudged them by the council of defence.

' XXI. But if any ship of war, being in his own road, or port, or in going or returning thither, shall receive any damage by tempest, or other misfortune; such loss shall not fall on the community, but be borne by the company such ship shall belong to.

' XXII. And for avoiding all disputes which may arise concerning the value of ships lost or endamaged, the council of defence shall make an estimate of all ships of war, and others, before they shall be employed in the common defence.

' XXIII. The forts, as well on the one part as the other, shall remain in the hands of those who possess them at present.

' XXIV. And whereas a question has been moved concerning the building certain new forts, which the English company have judged necessary for the security of their men and goods, it is agreed, that the said question shall remain undecided for the term of two or three years; to the end that having duly viewed and considered how many forts, of what nature, and in what places the same will hereafter be necessary, the said question may be resumed, and determined in such manner as may tend to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

' XXV. As to such forts as shall be taken in the Moluccas, or any other parts of India, by the interest and joint forces of both companies, they shall be equally possessed, garrisoned, and maintained by each company, who shall have there equal numbers; or they shall be divided equally between the two companies, according to the directions of the said council of defence.

' XXVI. They shall jointly endeavour to open and establish a free trade in China, and other places in the Indies, by such ways and means as the common council shall judge expedient.

' XXVII. The said companies shall not prevent or exclude each other from trading, either by force, or any separate contracts which they shall make in the Indies; but the trade shall be free and open, as well for the one as the other, in every place, as well within the forts and towns either party shall be possessed of as elsewhere.

' XXVIII. And it is agreed, that without the consent of both companies, no other persons not being of their respective bodies, shall partake of the benefit of the present treaty. And if any subject of either nation, not being of the same body, shall undertake any thing in prejudice of the said companies, they shall jointly and severally oppose the same, and maintain their respective privileges. And his said Majesty, and the said Lords and States, shall be addressed not to authorize any other companies to intermeddle in the traffick, or navigation of the Indies, while the present agreement shall remain in force.

' XXIX. If in any part of the Indies the one or the other company shall have a factory, trade, or effects, and it happen by the death of the factors, or some other misfortune, that the goods or estates of either remain without any person legally entitled to administer to them; the surviving factors, and officers of the other company shall take the said goods and estate into their possession, and honestly keep them for the owners, to whom they shall restore them in convenient time.

' XXX. This treaty shall be in force for twenty years; and if during that time there shall happen any disputes which cannot be terminated by the said council abroad, nor on this side by the said two companies, such differences shall be referred to the King of Great-Britain, and the said Lords the States-General, who will graciously be pleased to determine such differences to the satisfaction of both parties.

' All which articles shall be faithfully and inviolably observed by both parties, according to the true intent and meaning of this treaty: and the abovenamed Lords do engage, that as well his said Majesty of Great-Britain, as the said Lords the States, and both the said companies, shall approve, confirm, and ratify the said treaty, and reciprocally deliver instruments of ratification in due form.

' Done at London the 7th of July, 1619, Date.
' Old Style.

' Signed by the abovesaid Lords, and the Commissioners of the respective companies.

WE having perused and fully understood this present treaty, have approved, confirmed, and ratified, and do approve, confirm, and ratify the same by these presents; promising to observe and cause it to be observed in all points, so far as it shall concern us or the said company of English merchants, without suffering it to be infringed, directly or indirectly, in any manner whatever.

' And we do acquiesce in the contents of the 28th article; and engage, that during such time as this treaty shall be in force, we will not erect any other company than that which is already erected, which shall intermeddle in the trade and navigation of the East-Indies.

' In witness whereof we have signed these presents, and caused them to be sealed with our great seal.

' Done at Westminster the 16th of July, 1619, and of our reign the seventeenth.

' JAMES, Rex.
' Per CAREW.

' Per ipsum Regem propria manu signatum.'

How the Dutch performed their part of this treaty will appear by the following letter.

A letter

Ratification by King JAMES

H A P.
XVI.

A letter written to the East-India company from their factors.

‘ **A**BOUT the month of December, 1620, the Dutch General having prepared a force of sixteen ships, declared to our President that he intended an exploit for the good of both companies, without mentioning any particulars of his design.

‘ And seeing us to have no such forces ready to join with him, he said he would attempt it alone; and the 3d of January, 1620, he did set sail from Jacatra (Batavia) with his said forces, and arrived at Banda about the 3d of February following. Presently upon his arrival he made great preparation against the island of Lantore; which island was formerly, by the inhabitants thereof, delivered over unto our people, for the use, and under the subjection of the King’s Majesty of England; whereof our Captain of the isle of Pooloroon had taken possession, and had also settled a factory there.

‘ When our chief factor in our said isle of Pooloroon heard of the purpose of the Dutch General against the said isle of Lantore, he wrote a letter unto the said General, advising him that the said isle of Lantore did belong unto the King of England, and that therefore he should not attempt any violence against it, seeing there was an accord made in England between us. Which letter the said General threw from him in a great rage, scarce vouchsafing to read it over, and caused the messenger to be thrust out of doors; requiring him to advise our factor of Pooloroon, presently to send to Lantore and fetch away all such of our people and goods as were upon that island, for whomsoever he should find there he would take them as his utter enemies; and they should fare no better than the inhabitants.

‘ Within ten or twelve days after he landed all his forces there, and subdued the said island. So long as the fight endured, our factors and servants there (being three English and eight Chinese) kept themselves within doors; and afterwards our people came out of their houses, and told them the house wherein they were was the English house, and that therefore they should not meddle therewith. Nevertheless they sacked our house, took away all our goods, murdered three of our Chinese servants, bound the rest (as well English as Chinese) hand and foot, and threatened them to cut their throats; binding them three several times to several stakes, with their weapons ready drawn out; and did put a halter upon our principal factor’s neck, drawing up his head and stretching out his neck, ready to put them to death, yet did not execute them; but as they were bound hand and foot (as aforesaid) tumbled them down over the rocks like dogs, and like to have broken their necks; and thus bound carried them aboard their ships, and there kept them prisoners in irons fourteen or sixteen days. After the conquest of the island of Lantore, the Dutch General threatened to do the like unto Pooloroon, wherefore our principal factor of Pooloroon being there but newly arrived, went unto the Dutch General unto the castle of Nero, and told him, that he heard that he proposed to take Pooloroon by force, which he could not believe, although his own messenger sent to Pooloroon to speak with

our factors had given it out also; that the General himself should say, that if the English did not come presently unto him, and yield the said fort of Pooloroon unto him, he would send his forces and over-run all the country: but hoped he would enterprize no such thing against that place, considering the articles of agreement, and knowing how many years (to the great loss and charge of the company) we held possession and maintained the place to the use of his Majesty of England. The said General made little answer to it, as tho’ there were no such matter intended. Whereupon our said factor took his leave and came away. But the next day he was followed to Pooloroon with an armada of twenty-six praws and one ship, which did put the inhabitants of Pooloroon in such a fear as they knew not what to do; whereupon our chief factor there asked the commander of those forces, what his purpose was with such a fleet there? and that if he attempted any thing against Pooloroon it was a breach of the articles, it being in our possession. This could not prevail with him, but he said the land was theirs, and they would have it by fair means or force; and as for our possession, they would not acknowledge it (the inhabitants, and not we, being masters of the place) and so the Dutch Commander went ashore unto the inhabitants. Whereupon the said inhabitants asked us, if we could and would defend them? but perceiving we were not able to defend ourselves, much less to secure them, they were forced to yield themselves and the island into his hands. The Dutch took down the English colours and set up their own; and caused the inhabitants presently to bring in all their weapons, and to throw down all their walls, and would have forced them to have taken all our ordnance out of our fort, which they at the first refused to do, alledging, that they had formerly given and surrendered the land to the King of England; and in respect they had lived so long with the English, they would not now offer us any injury or violence. And when our chief factor went ashore to expostulate the matter with the Dutch Commander, he could obtain nothing at his hands but that the land was theirs, and things must be so, and should be so. Whereupon our said factor went again unto the Dutch General to the castle of Nero, to confer with him thereabouts; but he would give no other answer, but that he had referred those businesses to his lieutenant sent thither, with whom he might confer: who in the absence of our chief factor had brought some of his soldiers ashore upon Pooloroon, and forced the islanders to throw all our ordnance over the rock from the place where they were planted (being nine pieces) whereof four broke with the fall, and were all carried away by the Dutch. Moreover, our Captain of Pooloroon, who had defended the island four years together, going to Lantore, at the request of the inhabitants, to receive the surrender thereof for our King’s Majesty’s use, as aforesaid, and returning back again about the beginning of November, 1620, was slain by the Dutch. And it is very probable they did it after the time they had intelligence of the publication of the accord at Bantam, in March 1619. For presently upon the said publication, they sent secretly to the islands in those parts where they had trade, to prevent us of our part of the spices due unto us by the accord.

C H A
XVI.

‘ After

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* After the said Dutch General had subdued the forementioned island of Lantore; he constrained them to deliver unto him the principal of all their children for hostages: then he took away from them all their small vessels and boats; and then he also required all the men of Lantore to be brought unto him, and they brought him all the principal men: but this did not satisfy him, he would have all the Bandanefe which had aided them; as also all their wives and children, small and great, to be brought as prisoners aboard his ships. Which when the Bandanefe perceived (doubting that he meant to make them all slaves, and to carry them to some other places) they agreed together to retire themselves into the highest and strongest places of the land, and there did fortify themselves. Whereupon the Dutch slew many of them, and took twelve hundred prisoners, most of them being women and children, which they have since carried to Jacatra and other places.

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Reflections on the behaviour of the Dutch after the treaty of pacification.

The reader cannot but observe how notoriously this peace was broken by the Dutch, almost as soon as it was made: that notwithstanding it was expressly stipulated by the 23d article, that all places in India should remain in the hands of that nation which possessed them at the execution of the treaty, they invaded the islands of Lantore and Pooloroon, which were in the possession of the English, massacred the principal natives, and carried the rest into slavery: demolished the forts and factories of the English, murdered some of their servants, and made the rest prisoners; using them in a more insolent and barbarous manner than a declared enemy would have done: which was surely such a method of performing what they had stipulated for, as none but Dutchmen could have thought of.

There was indeed a council of defence to have been established, consisting of four of each company; and twenty men of war were to be fitted out at a joint expence, if the council found it necessary, for the security of their commerce: but this was with a view to the opposition they might expect from the Spaniards and Portuguese, who had numerous fleets, and several strong forts in the Molucca's, and other parts of India. And none but a Hollander could have had the forehead to suggest, that they were authorized by this treaty to make war upon those people who were subjects to the King of England, and had acknowledged him to be their lawful Sovereign. Much less that the Dutch were hereby empowered to demolish the English forts and factories on the islands of Banda, and usurp the dominion of that country.

How the English came to accept of a third part of the spice trade, when the islands of Banda were their property, is not easily accounted for: but however, when it was consented to and ratified by the supreme powers of each nation, one would have thought the high and mighty Hollander should have permitted the English to have enjoyed this one third quietly, and to have retained the islands they were possessed of.

No enterprize was to be undertaken, it seems, but by their joint consent, and by their joint forces: and yet did the Dutch, against the consent and repeated remonstrances and protestations

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of the English, attack and subdue the Bandanefe with Dutch ships and forces only. From which proceedings nothing is more evident, than that the Dutch were determined at the time they executed the above said treaty (whereby the English were allowed a full freedom of trade; and to retain what they were possessed of) that the English should enjoy nothing in the Indies any longer than they could raise a force to expel them: and this insidious treaty, entered upon with so much solemnity, was consented to only to lay their good allies asleep, while they treacherously sent their forces to India to make an entire conquest of the Banda islands.

A proceeding which the most notorious robbers and pirates would have been ashamed of; and shews, that no treaties or compacts are binding with some people, any longer than they have an opportunity of breaking them.

There appears a treacherous design in the Dutch even at the very treaty, in that they would not consent to name any places where the English should erect forts for the security of their trade; but insisted that the consideration of this article should be suspended two or three years, till they had considered of the most convenient places for these fortifications; well knowing that they should be possessed of all the Banda islands before that time was come. But if the reader is not yet convinced of their pious intentions, what follows, possibly, will put it past all doubt, that they were determined to monopolize the spice trade to themselves, and were not to be diverted from that design by any considerations whatever.

In pursuance of the above said treaty, the English company innocently settled factories at the Molucca's, Amboyna, and Banda, for carrying on their trade in the proportion agreed on; looking upon it that the Dutch had made such an advantageous bargain for themselves, that they should receive no molestation from them for the future. But they were hardly warm in these settlements, when the Dutch trump'd up a sham plot, in the year 1622, charging the English and Japonese with a conspiracy to surprize their principal fort at Amboyna.

A Japonese in the Dutch service, it seems, being upon the guard at Amboyna the 11th of February 1622, made some enquiries of a Dutch centinel concerning the strength of the castle, and the number of the garrison. This the Dutch soldier acquainted his superiors with, and the Japonese was immediately apprehended and put to the torture. They then demanded if he was not incited by the English to surprize the citadel? Which the fellow having never heard of before, was not easily persuaded to charge the English with. Whereupon they took up several others of the Japonese, and a Portuguese who had the care of the Dutch slaves. These the Governor having tortured several days, forced the poor wretches at length to say as their tormentors directed them. After this they proceeded to examine an English barber, whom they had made prisoner for some misdemeanour he had committed in his drink: this fellow was so frightened at the horrid tortures they had inflicted on the Japonese, and which he felt himself, that he said any thing rather than endure the torture.

Then they sent for Capt. TOWERSON the chief, and the rest of the English factors, and told them they were accused of a conspiracy to take the castle of Amboyna, and ordered them all

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The English settle factories at the Molucca's, Banda, and Amboyna.

The English tortured and massacred at Amboyna.

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to be seized; some of them they committed to prison, and others they sent in irons on board their ships. They also apprehended the English factors in the other parts of the island, and those of Cambello in the island of Ceram, amounting in all to fourteen or fifteen persons. They also took all the merchandize and effects of the English into their custody, with their chests, boxes, books, and writings, as arbitrarily as if the English had been really their subjects, and guilty of a conspiracy against their High Mightinesses.

Then they made the English merchants and factors undergo the torture one after another in the following manner: they first drew the unfortunate man up by cords to the top of a high door, and having stretched his hands as far asunder as they could, they fastened them to two iron staples fixed in the door posts, and his feet hanging about two foot from the ground were stretched out in like manner and fastened to staples; then a cloth was bound about his neck and face, and water poured upon his head till the cloth was full above his mouth and nostrils; so that he must of necessity suck in the water or be suffocated; still they continued to pour in water, till his body was swelled as big as two or three, and the water gushed out at his ears and nose, and his eyes were ready to start out of his head. When they found him almost dead they would let him down, making him disgorge the water, and if he did not then say as they directed him, he was hoisted up and served in the same manner again and again.

If the water torture had not the effect upon the person they proposed, they hoisted them up as before, and placed lighted candles under his feet, hands, and armpits till the fat dropt out; and some they burnt to that degree before they would confess, as they called it, that their very entrails were seen; some they split their toes, taring off their nails; others they cut their breasts, ramm'd in gunpowder and wildfire, and then set fire to it; and particularly Mr CLARK and Mr THOMPSON were so mangled with these unheard of barbarities, that they were forced to be carried to their execution.

But before they were so merciful as to kill these poor gentlemen outright, they were thrown into dungeons for five or six days in this miserable condition, not being suffered to have their wounds dressed, inasmuch that their flesh putrified and bred maggots, and they were so loathsome to themselves and others, that the stench could hardly be endured.

It is remarkable, that all these gentlemen, both before and after the torture, denied every word that had been extorted from them, and professed themselves innocent of what was laid to their charge, at their deaths, as they hoped for the mercy of God, before whom they were just going to appear. Capt. TOWERSON wrote to this purpose in some papers he left behind him, and Mr GRIGGS, Mr BEAUMONT, PRICE and BROWN, wrote in a table book which was afterwards brought to England by those who were suffered to survive, 'That by extreme torments they were compelled to say what they never thought; and took it upon their deaths, they were innocent of what was laid to their charge; and that they knew no more of the business they were charged with, than the child unborn.'

All the prisoners being brought into the hall

of the castle on the 26th of February, being the night before the execution, the Japonese tried out, 'O ye English! when did we ever eat, or drink, or converse with you?' To which the English answered, 'Why then have you accused us?' Then the Japonese exposed their tortured bodies, replying, 'If a stone were thus burnt would it not change its nature? How then could flesh and blood hold out?'

The English here again all professed their innocence, and desired to receive the sacrament before they died, to testify their sincerity; but it was denied them. Then said Mr COLSON, 'If I am guilty, more or less, of what I am charged with, may I never be a partaker of the joys of heaven.' At which every one of the English cried out, 'Amen, for me, good Lord.' Then having asked one another forgiveness for what they had said under the torture, they spent the night in prayers and singing psalms, and comforting one another; and the next day were beheaded.

These proceedings were attested upon oath in the court of admiralty by the English factors who were suffered to come to England and relate the whole matter: for had not the Dutch sent these gentlemen home, and given them an opportunity of divulging and recording the treatment they met with from their dear allies in the Indies, the principal design of all this barbarity had been lost; the world might then have remained ignorant of the consequences of opposing the encroachments of the Dutch: but after the publication of these inhuman and barbarous proceedings, they were morally sure they should never see an Englishman trafficking in the Spice islands again. And it is observable, that the Dutch Governor of Amboyna, proclaimed a fast on this occasion, and perpetrated all this villany in the name of the Lord; whose direction he pretended to have obtained by his fervent prayers.

The English East-India company annexed to the narrative of the Dutch cruelties at Amboyna, some reasons to shew the improbability of their factors being engaged in the design they were charged with. The substance whereof follows:

1. The English factors knew that the Japonese had been tortured for two or three days on pretence of a conspiracy to surprize the fort; and yet they never attempted to make their escapes, as they might easily have done in the country boats.

2. The design appears to be impracticable, because the Dutch had a garrison of two or three hundred men in the fort, and as many burghers in the town ready to join them: and there were no more than ten Englishmen and as many Japonese in the place, unprovided of every thing for such an attempt; for in the English house, when it was searched, were only found three swords, two fusces, and half a pound of powder; and the Japonese had no other arms but a short sword. But supposing these twenty men should have been able to have mastered the garrison and seized the castle, how could they have proposed to have kept it, having none to support them? For there was not one English vessel in the harbour; and not above five Englishmen more, and twenty Japonese in the whole island. On the other hand, the Dutch had three strong castles there besides this, garrisoned by their own troops, and eight ships riding in the road; with which power it had been very easy for them to have re-taken the fort from the twenty English and Japonese, if they had actually been in possession of it.

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These proceedings attested upon oath in the court of admiralty.

Improbability of the pretended plot.

The English and Japonese deny the charge at their deaths.

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3. To what purpose should these gentlemen run this hazard, when their principals had but just before agreed to accept of a third part of the spices, and had actually settled factories to manage their part of the trade in defenceless houses, unfortified, and unfurnished with every thing to defend themselves, and liable to be seized and plundered by the Dutch? (as they actually were on this occasion) Their masters could never approve of so mad a conduct therefore as an attempt to seize this fort; because it must inevitably expose all their other factories to the fury of the Dutch, who do not use to be very backward in making reprisals.

4. It is not to be supposed that every one of the prisoners, Japonese, as well as Christians, should so solemnly have denied every part of this pretended plot at their deaths, if there had been any truth in it; especially since those six Englishmen who returned to England are acknowledged on all hands to be perfectly ignorant of the matter: nor was there found any one paper, or letter, when the Dutch broke open the chests and cabinets of the factors, that gave the least colour to this pretended plot.

From all which, the English company strongly conclude, that the plot was all on the Dutch side; and that it was their insatiable avarice and covetousness to monopolize the whole trade of the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboyna, to themselves, which was the true source of all these proceedings: and if the circumstances abovementioned were not sufficient to prove it, their seizing upon all the English factories in the Spice Islands immediately afterwards, and excluding them and all other nations from that trade ever since, comes very little short of a demonstration of their intentions.

Nor did it fare better with the natives of Pooloroon, who had put themselves under the protection of the King of England, than with the English themselves; for in August 1622, (half a year before the Amboyna tragedy) they put no less than an hundred and sixty-two of the principal inhabitants to the torture at once, in the same manner they served the English at Amboyna, under pretence of a plot: two of these died with the extremity of the pain, and all the rest were executed without the least remorse; not sparing their priest, who was ordered to be cut in sunder for presuming to assert their innocence: and the wives and children of these miserable wretches were carried into slavery.

But it may be said, to what end should the Dutch be guilty of all this barbarity? could they not have seized on the English factories and effects without killing their factors? or, if they thought it necessary to murder them, could they not have done it in a less cruel, or less publick manner? to which it may be replied, that there is no doubt to be made of their superior strength; they were possessed of all the castles and strong places in those islands, and they were all garrisoned by their own national troops, except some few Indian mercenaries. The English, who were hardly twenty in all, dwelt in ordinary houses which could make no defence, and were dispersed in several parts of the island, two or three in a place, for the convenience of their trade, not having a military man amongst them, and unprovided both of ammunition and arms; so that there could have been no manner of difficulty in seizing and securing their persons, till the council of defence at Java had been acquainted with the pretended conspiracy; and there was no colour for the Dutch factors at

Amboyna to assume an authority of judging the English. CHAP. XVI.

Therefore the true and only reason that can be assigned for their torturing our countrymen in that inhuman and unheard of manner, must be, to deter the English and all other nations from venturing any more into those seas; and that all the earth might hear and fear to oppose the usurpations of the high and mighty Hollanders.

But here it may very naturally be demanded, how came the English to suffer such repeated injuries and indignities without expressing a suitable resentment, or compelling the Dutch to restore those territories to the British crown, which they had ravished from it by such barbarous and inhuman methods?

To which it may be answered, that many circumstances concurred to prevent it; as first, the death of Queen ELIZABETH just at the time when the Dutch first ventured to encroach upon our trade; which they had paid dearly for, if that great Princess had lived to have been acquainted with their infolence. And as a demise of the crown ever occasions a suspension of all business for a time, so especially when the successor is of another nation, and must of necessity be a considerable time before he can be acquainted with the true interest of his people. It was a farther misfortune in this case, that the Prince did not come from a country over-stocked with wealth; and probably, some of his courtiers might have a view towards raising their own families, equal to that of promoting their master's interest, or the advantage of the nation they were coming into. England possibly they might look upon as their Indies; and their prospect, consequently, hardly extended farther than the British seas. Others that might be sensible of what ill consequence the loss of the Indian trade would be to this nation, might possibly be made easy by our good allies the Dutch, who did not scruple to boast in the East-Indies, that they had a better interest in the court of England than the English company; and were acquainted not only with the ships they were about to fit out, and their force, but with their very orders and commissions, which were not known sometimes to the commanders themselves till they were out at sea, and had broken them open in such latitudes as they were directed.

A change of ministers, it has been long observed also has this ill consequence, if no other, that the fortunes of the new are generally to make; and perhaps, never were there more to make than on the accession of King JAMES, of which the Dutch made their advantage; and probably a thousand pound might go as far towards making a North-Briton easy, where great sums were not often seen, as ten thousand with a minister of South-Britain, where treasure was not altogether so scarce. The virtue and fidelity of both might be equal; but 'tis natural to suppose that a thousand pound will go as far with the same man when he first enters into business, as ten thousand when he has made his fortune.

Again, it cannot be supposed that a North-Briton could have so quick a sense, or so real a concern for the interest of England as a native would; and admitting they might, yet those ministers, it is very natural to suppose, would apply themselves to secure their own and their master's possession, before they cast their eyes on our distant plantations and foreign trade.

How it came to pass the English never received satisfaction for these injuries.

Oran Caya's of Pooloroon tortured and massacred by the Dutch.

Reasons of the barbarous proceedings of the Dutch.

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And what contributed still more to the neglect of our interests abroad was, the misunderstandings between the King and Parliament, upon account of his profuse bounty to the Scots, as is apparent from several addresses and representations on this head; and which happened extremely advantageous to the Dutch designs: for understanding that the English treasury was very low, and that the Parliament would not supply the King till their grievances were redressed, to distress him still more, they refused to pay the English garrisons in the cautionary towns, which they were obliged to do by their agreement with Queen ELIZABETH, which occasioned heavy complaints from those garrisons, and almost a mutiny; so that the King was in danger of losing those towns without any consideration, as well as the money the Dutch were indebted to this crown by way of loan, and for maintaining the troops in their service in the reign of the late Queen.

While the King was in this perplexity, the Dutch cunningly offered about a tenth part of the money that was due to England in case he would surrender up the cautionary towns, and discharge them of that great debt which they pretended they should never be able to pay.

The consequences of delivering up these towns, which were indeed no less than the parting with the dependency Holland had upon England, our sovereignty at sea, and with that our trade, was not duly reflected on by the then ministry; and there is no doubt to be made, but these false steps contributed still more towards the widening the breach between the King and his people.

At this time also the differences in religion, and the warmth with which each party endeavoured to maintain their several opinions, took off their attention to the general interest of the nation; and these heats were no doubt fomented by our good allies, whatever they were by the Papists; for the Hollanders certainly made greater advantages of these disputes than all the Popish Princes in Europe put together.

But to return; these usurpations of the Dutch, and their unparallel'd cruelty and injustice towards the subjects of England have not passed entirely unobserved: for representations and memorials have been delivered on these heads almost in every reign; and sometimes satisfaction demanded and endeavoured to be procured, in such a manner as the case required.

King JAMES I, who dreaded the effects of war too much for his subjects advantage, and thereby encouraged some neighbouring States in their depredations, yet could not help shewing his resentment at the barbarous proceedings of the Dutch against his people at Amboyna, and is said

to have used several severe execrations on that occasion.

King CHARLES I, finding all representations and memorials on this head ineffectual, was about to increase his shipping, and call the Dutch to an account; but was unhappily prevented by the civil-war which ensued.

The Rump Parliament, who possessed themselves of the sovereign power after the murder of King CHARLES, were not to be amused by the hypocritical cant of the States calling themselves 'Their brethren, and of the same household of faith;' but refused to make any peace with Holland, 'till they consented to bring all those to justice who were concerned in that bloody massacre at Amboyna: which article indeed was performed in much the same manner the former treaty was, in the reign of King JAMES I. However, this shews that though the nation was divided in other points, yet all parties agreed in demanding satisfaction for the lives of those gentlemen so barbarously tortured at Amboyna; and for the depredations of the Dutch in the Indies. And had not CROMWELL had some by-ends of his own to serve, they would infallibly have been compelled to restore those countries they had so treacherously usurped, and given satisfaction for their repeated robberies and murders of the English merchants.

King CHARLES II, twice entered into a war with the Dutch, in order to procure satisfaction for their depredations on the English; and he compelled them in the last war to pay him several hundred thousand pounds, before he would hearken to a peace; and had not the nation been apprehensive of the growing power of France, they had probably been compelled to restore the Banda Islands at that time.

From whence it appears, that this was no party matter; whig and tory, republicans as well as the sons of monarchy, when they were in power, have ever insisted upon restitution and satisfaction in these particulars. And may the rage of party never run so high as to induce us to sacrifice the true interest of the nation to trifles.

We have been play'd one against another long enough; while we have contended about names and sounds at home, our neighbours have run away with our trade, and private villains have grown rich at the expence of the publick.

Religion, liberty, and property, are glorious things, the full enjoyment whereof Britain only perhaps can boast of at this day. May she ever distinguish rightly between the shadow and the substance, and not be amused by the pretended advocates of religion, liberty, and property, till she has neither religion, liberty, nor property left.

The cautionary towns were delivered up anno 1616, at the very time the Dutch were attempting to deprive the English of the spice trade.

